

56

1 – 25 Jan 1960

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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1 – 25 January 1960

Second Series

56



The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

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**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**

NEW YEAR PARADE



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 JANUARY 1960)

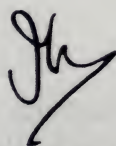
Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

SECOND SERIES

Volume Fifty Six (1 – 25 January 1960)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'JN' with a long, sweeping underline.

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

New Delhi

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

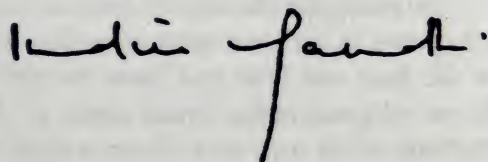
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with a relatively brief period, just the first twenty-five days of January 1960. This is due to two large subjects being included, the Bangalore session of the Indian National Congress and Nehru's interviews to R. K. Karanjia. While planning and development retain their pride of place at the Bangalore session, foreign affairs and the border question with China loom large. At the Nagpur session in January 1959, for example, there was one resolution and one speech on international affairs; in Bangalore on the other hand, there are two resolutions and three speeches bearing on the subject. As for the interviews to Karanjia, they began in January 1960 and went on intermittently thereafter. As no precise dates for these interviews have been recorded, they have been published in this volume, as they originally appeared, as one lot. Many other subjects have, as a result, been split between this and the subsequent volume which goes on until the end of February. As a single volume would have been much too large for a reader to handle with comfort, this division was preferred, although it did split certain subjects between two volumes.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers have been reproduced from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal*

Nehru, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Syed Ali Kazim, helped by Geeta Kudaisya. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Anil Pushkar, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL

(a) Chief Ministers

1. To Chief Ministers¹

January 1, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you near the midnight hour when the old year is passing away and the New Year, with all its hopes and promise as well as its apprehensions and dangers, is coming in. This passing year has been, as you know, full of difficulties and internal troubles. Apart from internal matters, we have had to face quite a new kind of trouble on our frontiers. This frontier trouble with China is a major event for us and for India and it might well be considered to be a historic development which will pursue us for a long time.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



“A happy and prosperous New Year!”—that’s what they all said last year too!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 JANUARY 1960)

1. File No. 25(30)/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 348-357.

2. And yet, in spite of all this, I can tell you, in all honesty, that I look forward to this New Year with faith and confidence. I have no doubt that it will not be an easy year, but I have equally no doubt that we shall progressively overcome the difficulties that encompass us.

3. This evening, I visited the World Agricultural Fair² here and went to a number of State pavilions. I have not been able to visit all the State pavilions, but even those that I have visited filled me with suppressed enthusiasm. Indeed, the whole Exhibition is a cheering sight, for it shows vividly how India is on the move. Two years ago, we had the Industrial Exhibition here and that was a remarkable sight.³ Eminent foreigners who saw it were astonished at what we had done and were doing. The same thing is happening now with this Agricultural Fair. Foreigners are impressed. But what is more to the point, even we who are in such intimate contact with what is happening in India are impressed by what we see. Unlike most other countries, most of us here are constantly seeing the dark side of the picture and decrying our achievements. Perhaps we are not good at publicity of the right type, even though when a big exhibition takes place, we manage to do it rather well. But there is no continuing publicity, in terms of facts and figures, about what we have done or are doing. I think that both our Central and State Governments should consider how best they can keep our public informed of our achievements. I do not suggest just some propaganda technique, but the giving out of solid facts.

4. Lately, I have been examining figures about the progress of our education.⁴ The progress we have made in these past few years is remarkable by any standard. Over forty millions of young boys and girls are in our schools and colleges, and the number is increasing fast. In particular, our institutes for technical training are springing up all over the country and our output of engineers and the like is increasing rapidly. We hear a great deal about student indiscipline and are rightly distressed at it. But few people take the trouble to find out this widespread march of education all over the country.

2. At New Delhi from 10 December 1959 to 10 January 1960.

3. The India 1958 exhibition opened in New Delhi on 8 October 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 64-69.

4. 40,187,000 students in 4, 10,046 educational institutions of all types during 1958-59. See Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Research and Reference Division, *India. A Reference Annual, 1961* (Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Publications Division, 1961), p. 89.

5. Then again there can be little doubt that in our industry we are making very substantial progress.⁵ The major and heavy industries are no doubt very important and they receive a measure of publicity as they should. But what is equally significant is widespread advance of small industries in various parts of the country. The advance will be even greater but for electric power not being always available.

6. Agriculture is occupying our minds a great deal and we have come to realise, even more than before, how vital it is for our growth. A few days ago, I sent you an article by Professor René Dumont⁶ who had come here in the United Nations Committee for evaluating our Community Development Programme. That was a depressing article.⁷ Much that it said was correct. Nevertheless, it presented an exaggerated picture which created, I think, a wrong impression in the mind of its readers. I am convinced that the position in India in regard to agriculture is not at all as bad as made out by Professor Dumont. Visiting the Agricultural Fair here, I have become even more optimistic, for the progress made in many directions is truly remarkable. It is true that this progress is not widespread and it is not good enough for individual examples to be held up for our satisfaction. But there is something much more than individual examples that I saw supported by facts and figures.

7. I have given you a fairly rosy picture of the economic progress of India both in industry and agriculture. This picture is supported by facts and data and by other information that reaches us. Recently the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, after visiting various parts of the country, also pointed out that he had found the real state of our country far better than one would imagine from the criticisms made about it.⁸ Indeed, that we are in the habit of minimising our achievements, and there are of course many friends of ours who take particular delight in running down their own country and what it is doing. They are justified, I suppose, if they are in the Opposition to criticise the Government in power. But there is a difference in criticising the Government and in running down the country as a whole.

5. The industrial production index (base 1951=100) for 1958 was 139.7 and for 1959 it was 151.1. See *India: A Reference Annual*, 1960, Table 173, p. 310 and *ibid*, 1961, Table 180, p. 314.

6. French agricultural expert.

7. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 180-181.

8. H.V. R. Iengar, in his inaugural address at the conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics on 25 December 1959.

8. Our achievements are noteworthy and, what is more, they bear the promise of a much better future. I have already written to you about the decentralising process that is going on in some of our rural areas, notably in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.⁹ I feel that this process has in it one of the major keys to unlock the vast energy of our rural population which has suffered from inertia for so long. Nothing dramatic takes place suddenly, but the direction of this movement and its potential power are beginning to be evident. So also our move to spread out cooperatives in our villages. In some States, progress in this respect has been very satisfactory; others are trying to catch up. Here also there is a progressive opening out of the energy and spirit of self-reliance of our rural masses. The principal problem for us is how to speed this progress.

9. There is another side of this picture, to which I would like to draw your particular attention and which is not so pleasant to look at. We see many high points of progress which can be compared to those in any other country. But we have not in the past utilised even the progress made. Our methods and procedures in Government are astonishingly slow and restricted. These procedures aim at some kind of perfection, in the result that they prevent things being done and we suffer from something that is most harmful, that is delay. This has been pointed out to us repeatedly by our own people as well as competent foreigners who have visited India. All of us have been conscious of this and we have tried to overcome it by such improvements as we could make in our procedures, but the result has not been considerable and we still move forward checked at every step by the old procedures and institutional methods which have come down to us from the past. Those institutions had been built up, with a large measure of success, under a different type of Government and economy. There was no urge to deal with a rapidly changing situation in the social and economic sphere, such as we have to face today. It is no good blaming those institutions because they were meant for a different purpose.

10. The question, however, arises as to how we can make institutional changes so as to fit in with the present needs of the country. It has been referred to in our Five Year Plan reports and elsewhere. We have to face it squarely now and remove such checks and obstructions as come in the way of our rapid implementation of what we decide.

11. This was necessary enough from the planning point of view; it has become even more necessary because of the dangers on our frontier. I do not want to refer to the possibility of a war and I earnestly hope that we shall not have to face this dire contingency. But, war or no war, we have to face a situation which can only be met by some of the speedy methods associated with an

9. See SWJN/SS/53/p. 14.

organisation for war. When a country has to fight for its survival, it cannot tolerate any obstructions and it will even take many risks. Something of that mentality must come to us now for, in no other way, can we deal adequately with the problems that face us. The choice before us is limited.

12. Ever since the trouble on our frontier, there has been a pleasing response from the public and an expression of facing this possible danger with all our might. And yet this response in words or writing is not reflected in our activities. There is no sense of urgency and of a peril to be faced. Many of our people move between two extremes—a somewhat panicky state of mind and, in actual fact, a measure of complacency and carrying on as before. Neither of these is good enough or helpful.

13. What our defence forces can or should do in the circumstances is, of course, important and full attention is being paid to this matter. But defence, in the long or even the short run, depends on the industrial strength of the country and its economy. Thus we come back to our Five Year Plans with such variations as might be necessary because of the frontier danger. In the main, however, these plans hold good. Agricultural production must advance as rapidly as possible, and all the basic industries must go ahead, so that we may approach a stage of a large measure of self-sufficiency and an economy which is self-generating. That is the problem of planning and I think we have enough data and experience at our disposal to plan rightly.

14. The real difficulty is in the actual implementation of the plans. We look round and there we come up against the institutions and procedures that govern implementation. Also the fact that implementation of big social and economic programmes must necessarily have the active cooperation of the great mass of our people. To both these approaches, we must address ourselves with all our might. If we do so, many of our internal troubles and controversies would tend to fritter away and the attention of our people will be directed towards constructive effort.

15. So far as the development of major industries is concerned, this is principally the work of the Central and State Governments, although even there the cooperation of all the people concerned is necessary. But, in agriculture, it is the farmer ultimately who functions and not all the various grades of officials, experts and others who are constantly advising him. We have to reach the farmer and convince him by practical demonstration about the worth of our programmes and proposals, and the successful officer or expert is one who does this himself and not merely talks about it. We all know what is to be done in agriculture and we have repeatedly laid down long lists of activities which are considered necessary. Our work has certainly borne fruit, but the pace has not been rapid enough and the time has now come when no slowness in pace can be tolerated

and everything that comes in the way must be brushed aside. That is why I wrote to you more than once that agriculture must be considered the most vital in our economy. I even suggested that the Chief Minister should take charge of it. But whether the Chief Minister himself takes charge of it or not, the basic fact which should be kept always in view is that the work of every State Government will be judged by the measure of progress in agricultural production. That measure will depend on the understanding and active participation of the individual farmers. We must remember that what we are aiming at is modernizing farming and getting out of centuries-old ruts.

16. Thousands of farmers visit Delhi almost daily. Those who come here are probably select groups and the better type of farmers. They appear to be eager and anxious to move forward and yet it surprised me when I found out from them how many used new ploughs and how many still stick to the ancient plough which has functioned in India for a thousand years or more. Quite a considerable number still use these old ploughs. How can we expect them to give better results unless they have better implements? I am not referring to tractors, combines and the like, although I have no objection to them. But, it is patent that our improvement of agriculture cannot wait for the introduction of tractors on a big scale. Indeed, with our vast manpower, the rapid introduction of tractors might well produce very difficult problems by increasing unemployment. It is only when our growing industry absorbs a large number of the people who depend on agriculture now that we can think in terms of progressive mechanisation.

17. But when I say that tractors and combines are not the urgent need of India, I do not mean that the old tools and implements should continue to be used. There are simple and relatively cheap modern tools and these must replace the old implements which have served this country for a number of years, may be, thousands of years. Take the plough. A simple modern plough can obviously do much greater work than the old one which just scratches the surface of the soil. Its cost probably varies from about Rs. 25/- to Rs. 75/-. This is not a large sum even for our farmers and the cost of it comes back manifold in the first harvest after it is used. I think that a concerted and determined effort should be made by all State Governments to replace these old ploughs with new ones. This process today is very slow and we have to depend on small-scale manufacturing plants by private agencies who price it at a figure higher than is necessary. There should, therefore, be large-scale manufacture of these ploughs, preferably by the Government itself, or by widespread cottage industries and cooperatives. These ploughs can be given to the farmer on hire-purchase system or the price can be realised at the time of harvesting. We should aim, therefore all over the country at eliminating the old plough and introducing simple modern

implements in the course of a year or two. Properly organised, there should be no considerable financial burden and all the money invested ought to come back within a few months. The results in production will be significant.

18. There is a tendency for all of us to sit in offices and draw up plans and to ignore a very vital aspect of our problem. We talk lightly of hundreds of thousands of crores. These figures have no meaning to the peasant, nor is he greatly impressed by stories of mighty river valley schemes and steel plants, etc. which do not directly affect him. What impresses him is what he sees roundabout. Therefore, it is better for us to lay stress on a large number of small schemes for irrigation purposes and small industries. These will require relatively little capital and they will bring forth results within a few months. The farmer can see them growing up and can appreciate the benefits which he derives from them. That is why we are now thinking more of a variety of minor schemes spread out all over the country. This leads to a more balanced development of the country and helps in training up our people and making them understand modern methods. This programme of having relatively small schemes can be applied to production of fertilisers and of pig iron. I am not running down big schemes for, I think, they are vital to our task, but I do appeal for a multitude of small schemes now which will bring all our planning to the eyes of the farmer.

19. The panchayats must be held responsible for implementation of these plans and they should be given adequate resources for this purpose. The cooperative will inevitably come into the picture. We have the knowledge of how to plan. What is needed now is quick implementation. For this purpose, the full understanding and cooperation of farmers must be sought. I find that our farmers are very intelligent and easily adopt new methods if they are approached in the right way and convinced by practical examples of the benefits of such methods.

20. There remains the great question of how to utilise our unused or partly used manpower. Whatever in the way of resources we may lack, we have an abundance of this particular type of resources, that is, manpower. Ultimately, with the growth of agriculture and industry, this manpower will be absorbed. But it is patent that this cannot happen for a considerable time. It becomes of great importance, therefore, to devise methods of utilising this manpower. The Chinese increased their production greatly because they could take advantage of their huge manpower and they put practically everyone to work hard. There was no choice about it and the methods were coercive. We cannot and do not wish to function in that way, but that does not mean that we should wait supinely and do nothing effective.

21. There are many ways of utilising this manpower and some have been

tried already with success. Apart from this wider question, another question is now before us for consideration. That is a measure of compulsory training in social work for our students. It has been suggested that students who complete their school course should undertake a year's training in social work, including actual physical labour, before they go to the university. There may be some variations of this proposal, but the basic approach has to be on those lines. If such a training is given, much of the present so-called student indiscipline will disappear.

22. I should like you to give urgent thought to what I have suggested above. We shall have to consider many of these matters at the Congress sessions at Bangalore which will be held within two weeks from now.¹⁰ It is for the Congress to give a fairly clear and straight lead to every hamlet in the country. But, above all, those who are engaged in the business of Government have to set an example of functioning with efficiency and rapidly and devising methods of implementing whatever has been decided upon.

23. I send you all my good wishes for this New Year that is upon us. When this year also comes to its appointed end, may we be able to look back upon our labours and achievements with satisfaction and some pride in the New India which it is our high privilege to serve.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Chief Ministers

January 4, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

I have just come back from Bombay where I went for the Science Congress session.¹¹ We are now giving a good deal of attention to the important problems of administrative speed and efficiency to which I referred in my last letter to you. I hope to write to you on this subject later. What is of the highest importance, to begin with, is for us all to have a sense of urgency about these matters and to convey this sense to others. I find, to my distress, that there is no such appreciation of the time factor which is of the utmost importance.

10. The sixty-fifth session, 16-17 January 1960. See items 11-21.

11. Indian Science Congress, forty-seventh session, inaugurated 3 January 1960.

2. I shall reserve some of these important matters for a subsequent letter. But I am sending you today a copy of a letter addressed to me by the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, which deserves your full consideration.

3. There are some simpler matters to which I should like to draw your attention. They are simple and yet I feel that from the public point of view they deserve action.

4. One is about construction work. While in Bombay, I visited our Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay. This has grown greatly and many new buildings have been put up which are attractive in design, functional, more modern and yet cheaper than our normal estimates for such structures. I am afraid our P.W.D. engineers usually work in ruts and stick to their old designs and standards. Modern building work has progressed greatly, and we should learn from it.

5. To give you an instance: at Trombay, a big reservoir for water has been built. Normally these reservoirs are rectangular and held up by a cement or steel frame-work. The reservoir itself might be of steel or cement. Railways frequently put them up. They are not beautiful to look at and they are much more costly than they need be. The Trombay reservoir was built by a French engineer. It is a huge sphere with a diameter of over 70 feet. It is a very graceful structure in cement built upon a platform of cement. It had cost, I believe, about 52 ½ lakhs of rupees. I was told that a normal rectangular structure, as is usual here, would cost about 3 lakhs more if in cement; if the frame-work and the tank is of steel, it would cost about 7 lakhs more.

6. Another matter which drew my attention, while going to Trombay, was the way roads are built on the outskirts of cities. Normally these are fairly narrow roads as traffic is supposed to be on a small scale. But buildings grow up rapidly and the road is found too narrow then. It becomes difficult to widen it without heavy expenditure and acquiring more land for widening it and sometimes even involving the destruction of houses built there. It is desirable, therefore, always to keep wide spaces on either side of new roads to allow for future expansion. The road itself may not be wide to begin with, but the space should be there for expansion. This applies particularly to cities.

7. The way our Municipal or other sweepers do their work of cleaning is still generally very primitive. I think that all sweepers must be provided with adequate implements for this work. They should never use their hands directly. This is unhygienic. They should be provided with proper pans and brushes to gather the dust, etc. They should also have proper brooms or brushes attached to some kind of a pole for sweeping. The old style broom makes the person using it bend down and is very inefficient, apart from being tiring. These are

very simple measures which can easily be given effect to without much expenditure, and yet with great advantage to those who use these implements, as well as for general cleanliness and sanitation. I suggest that you might pass on this suggestion to your Corporations and Municipalities.

8. I have already written to you about the use of new ploughs and other simple agricultural implements which are quite, cheap.¹² I think that an effort should be made to insist on the replacement of ancient ploughs with, new ones. These new ploughs vary in price from about Rs. 25 to perhaps Rs.75. Their use would immediately add to the improvement of the soil by deeper ploughing. I am not referring to the expensive implements which are sometimes in use in agriculture, nor am I thinking of tractors in this connection. All I am suggesting is that simple modern ploughs and other agricultural implements should be widely distributed.

9. I have been meeting thousands of peasants recently and I have always asked them what kind of ploughs or implements they use. A large number still continue to use the kind of plough which was probably used a thousand years or more ago. This kind of thing seems to me very wrong, because it can be remedied so easily and with such good results. At present this is largely left to the initiative of the farmer and some private concerns manufacturing these new ploughs. Sometimes I believe the Community Development Centres keep a few, chiefly for show.

10. I do not think this is enough. An effective drive should be conducted on a big scale and large scale manufacture of these new ploughs and other implements should be organised by the State. Where there is some difficulty in the farmer paying for the plough, etc, it should be given to him on credit, to be paid for after the harvest. I suggest this for your urgent consideration. I hope that within a year or so there will be no old plough left in use.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. See item 1, pp. 5-7.

(b) Speeches

3. To Students: Building Character¹³

Now we shall begin. It appears that this meeting has no Chairman. So I shall take the place of Chairman also [Laughter].

Now, first of all, I must apologise to you for arriving here seven minutes late. Bad. I should not have done so, but I am having rather a hard life in Bangalore on this occasion, – late nights and rather heavily occupied always.¹⁴ So, I am sorry, I was a few minutes late.

Now, although I am glad of this opportunity to address you, young men and young women, I have been wondering what to say to you, not because there is any lack of things to say, but rather because of the very abundance of what I have in my mind and what I would have liked to convey to you, even, if possible, to discuss with you. I am not going to speak to you now, I hope in the manner of somebody giving a lot of good advice to others. Advice is good of course, if it is good advice [Laughter]. But it is the manner of doling out advice that sometimes, I find, is not very helpful. I would much rather discuss things with you as with others, because out of mutual discussions and talks, we can arrive nearer at understanding matters than merely by listening to lectures and addresses.

In the old days, I am told, we are told, that the essential thing about education was the relationship between the pupil and teacher, the guru and the chela. That was easily possible then because you did not have then these large colleges, the universities, [instead] the ashram, where a small number of pupils went to their teachers and discussed matters with him and thus came into intimate contact with a mind which was more trained, more experienced and therefore could help in discussing matters. In the ultimate analysis, remember, every person has to discover his path by himself or herself. A teacher or a guru can help by pointing out the ways, by making it easier for you to go. But you have to go there by yourself. You cannot be carried anywhere. That applies to the whole of life, to find your own way. If you are rather of a higher calibre, you may find your way quickly or go further. Anyhow, whatever your calibre might be, you have to find your way yourself, mentally and physically, and all the process of education is to help you to train your mind and body to be able to find your way

13. Speech at Central College Cricket Pavilion, Bangalore, 16 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

14. Referring to the sixty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress. See items 11-21.

through life. Not merely through your examination—that is only a small part of testing and trial—but rather through life's difficult courses.

Now as I said, these are questions which one likes to discuss with bright and forthcoming minds. If you want me to come and talk to you, let us say about some job or other, well, it might be interesting to you or to me, but it is not a subject which requires great agility of mind. It is, rather, it could be, much more interesting if you and I sit down and discuss some of the extraordinary problems that this world presents today or that India presents today. Some problems not affecting yourself or myself directly, but rather humanity as a whole, or the people of India as a whole. We are of course part of humanity and part of the people of India, and therefore anything that happens in the world affects us. So, one would like to discuss that because, in the course of discussion, different aspects of truth come up before one's eyes and it helps us to think afresh.

You know perhaps that some of the greatest books that we have in India are the Upanishads. What does the word Upanishad mean? It means, sitting near by. Sitting near. I hope I am correct. That means sitting near, the pupil and teacher, and discussing things and trying to probe what is truth, by question and answer of the eager mind, young men and young women's minds, wondering something, trying to find out what all this talk about this world is, life and problems, and this teacher trying to help. Ultimately it is for the young mind to find out, the teacher helps a little. But the main thing is, first of all, this desire to find out, this wish to find out what all this is. This is Jigyasa, if you like to call it. This certainly is the effort to find out. After that, the other things follow. If you have not even got any desire to find out, obviously, there is nothing to find out for you. You remain where you are. So, the desire and the effort are necessary, and the whole process of education is to awaken your minds, develop your bodies, in particular wakening your minds to this fascinating world and universe; and then it depends upon your capacity, your mind, how far you can go forward. A university should give you training, so that your mind becomes like a razor's edge, sharp, piercing, going forward and trying to understand.

All that has happened in the world ever since homo sapiens began, ever since something resembling a human being started living in this world, whether it was hundreds and hundreds, or thousands of years ago. All that has happened is the development of the human mind; and out of that mind has come wonderful things. What is the difference between a human being, and let us say, an animal? There are several differences. One very odd difference, if I may say so, is—I hope I am right again—that the human being can laugh and an animal cannot laugh! [Laughter]. It is an interesting difference but the major difference is memory. Memory means past experience stored, by which you can profit. While

an animal also has a kind of memory of course, it is very limited. It develops into a kind of instinct, inherited instinct, and he has a little memory, he recognises people and all that. But, nevertheless, it is very limited. Now, this quality of memory, this quality of storing up experiences in your mind, has really led to the whole growth of humanity because we have profited by what our forefathers had thought and experienced. Then came, later of course, the writing of books. That was storing experiences which others could read. Then came not only the writing, but the publishing and printing of books, which gave all means of storing and making it accessible to world experience, and so it is out of the human mind with this past knowledge accumulated that fresh advances have been made. Presumably, a dog remains so far intellectually more or less a dog, has remained throughout these ages. You may claim a dog to have changed. But a human being had changed intellectually, I am sure that he has not changed so much morally or ethically. But in some ways, he has changed tremendously by this storage of experiences of the past, step by step.

What I am driving at is this, that all human advance from the earliest times is the result of the human mind. You may add something to it, the human spirit, the spiritual or the ethical side, and undoubtedly that is important, but for the moment, I shall deal with the human mind. That is the most important. Out of that has come all the physical advances that you see in the world; all that you read in your colleges and universities, your books, whatever they may be—whether they deal with mathematics or the sciences or humanities or any subject—you read what has come out of human minds previously; and so you reach that stage, and if your mind is keen enough, you go more forward.

I do not know if I am making myself clear to you. But I wanted you particularly to realise what this wonderful world of ours is, and what this wonderful country of ours is, that this a fascinating period of her existence. We are too wrapped up in our personal problems and difficulties to see the wonder around us; and that is such a pity, because, if you don't see it, read it, you miss something that is really worth seeing, worth realising.

Now, as I sit here before you, it comes to my mind that it is nearly fifty years ago that I took my degree in the University of Cambridge in England, nearly fifty years ago; therefore it separates me from most of you. That is half a century between you and me [Laughter] and it is very difficult for that half a century to be bridged. We may meet, we may talk, we may discuss things, but nevertheless, the half a century remains, because you have been conditioned by a different world, by different experiences, than I was when I was your age. And that makes a tremendous difference. When I speak to you or meet you, I try to the best of my ability to bridge that half a century and to understand your problems both individually and in a group as the youth of India. To some extent

I succeed and perhaps I succeed a little more than many others of my generation. Nevertheless, it is difficult to get back, back of the mind, look back, if you can, what the world was like and what India was like fifty years ago.

Not now, later, try to think of that and try to picture the India of that time, and the world of that time; try to put yourself back in history fifty years ago and imagine that you were at a university here in India; what problems would have faced you then and what problems face you today. You will be astonished at the different world that faced people fifty years ago because the world has changed. Of course, human beings in many ways remain essentially the same biologically, their wishes and desires, loves and hates. But nevertheless, we are conditioned by the world we live in.

If you put yourself to that, I need not tell you of what has happened in these fifty years, the major events; a good part so far as our country is concerned; a good part of these fifty years was spent in a struggle, in a vast struggle for independence, which we ultimately succeeded in getting. That conditioned us very greatly. Many of you find independent India, even though you might have been born in a dependent India, you have grown up in independent India, and you take it for granted and perhaps do not quite realise what it meant for the people of India to get independence.

These things do not come of themselves; nothing comes of itself. Everything worthwhile comes after struggle and labour, after suffering and hard work. That is the inevitable law of life. You have to pay for everything that you get, pay not in hard cash and money, that is not important; coin is only something meant for the bazaar; the important coin in the world is labour, suffering, self-sacrifice and all that. It is out of that, that payment, that nation and individuals are made. So, in our struggle for independence, India, or the people of India, had to pay heavily in labour, in pain and suffering, and self-sacrifice. And having paid in full measure, independence came, not as a gift from anybody, but because we had paid by our life's blood, my generation and others. Remember that, because in the future, we may read many things we shall not get without paying; paying for them by our hard work and labour and by devoting ourselves to the achievement of the ends we have in view.

Go back fifty years; how the world has changed? A young man; very, very few women in India; very few women in colleges in India then; they were hardly, practically ... And there were not many men in colleges either then, though there were some men; and if you were in a college, what would you look forward to in life? There were very few openings to a young man in India then, and none to young women. What were those few openings? Well, a limited opening into Government service, very limited. The higher ranks were all taken up by the English people. A very few odd individuals went to England and got

into the civil service and managed to get into the Indian Civil Service. The real openings to Indians were the lower ranks of the services, Government services like tehsildars, deputy collectors, and the like. A very few could become engineers, very, very few. A very few doctors, and so many went into the law and became lawyers. They cannot become officers in our army. We had no navy practically, we had no air force, of course. So you see, practically all avenues were closed to them. Just a few could get into the lower ranks of our administrative services, a few doctors, a few engineers and a larger number of lawyers, but only a few succeeded [Laughter]. The profession of the law was approved of especially because it gave a certain freedom, freedom of expression. In government service, we were tied up.

Compared to that, look at today, in India and see how many avenues are open to you. They are some entirely new. Thousands and thousands of young men and young women are serving our country abroad in our diplomatic missions, ambassadors, high commissioners, consulates, ministers and the like; and that is a very high form of service. Then you have in India, of course, whether it is defence services or civil services, they are manned all by Indians, not in olden times when chief posts were held by Englishmen or the like. Look at the picture of India: the ramifications of the activities of the State and not only of the State, but other private activities too, how they have grown tremendously. This tremendous growth has brought some evils too, evils of too much bureaucracy and all that. But to some extent, that is inevitable in a State which deals with social problems, with social growth. The Army, every career is open to you; the Army, Navy, Air Force, right up to the Chiefs of Staff, Commander-in-Chief, and all that. Take science. We have tens of thousands of scientists working in India, working in our national laboratories, and the universities. Our defence establishment itself has a thousand or two of scientists. Our telecommunications, two or three thousands of scientists, and all that, and growing numbers. We want engineers by tens of thousands, not a few, by tens of thousands. I do not want to go on telling you all this, but I want you to realise what innumerable opportunities are open to Indian men, young men and young women today, which were all closed to them sixty years ago.

You straightaway ask what is all this talk about, and unemployment and difficulty in getting employment, and that would be a legitimate question. There can be no doubt that there is unemployment of two types in India. One type is, the broad unemployment or under-employment of our people in the villages and elsewhere, what might be called dealing with the masses of the people; and the other is unemployment of the so-called educated classes, that is, people who have been taught in schools and colleges. There are two different types of unemployment, naturally we have to find a solution for that. But the first thing

I want you to bear in mind is that the openings today to the Indian people are vast, certainly for the educated people are vast, in every direction, provided the persons are good enough for them; a person who is really good has got many doors opening out to him. The real difficulty about the problem of unemployment is of course that employment only comes in a big way when an economy develops in a big way.

In agricultural civilisation, employment is limited. In industrial civilisation, employment has increased very much. In scientifically advanced civilisation, more employment comes and so on. And we are passing through a very big transitional stage. It is not easy to shift over from one to the other. We are doing it and we will do it. It takes a little time and during this period these difficulties are to be faced. Our economy is developing rapidly, so is our population, and that will ultimately absorb masses of our people, once we develop industry. And an agricultural civilisation cannot absorb the rapidly growing population of India. In fact, there are too many people in agriculture already. They should be reduced and taken over to industry. There is no such limitation in industry as there is in agriculture. Land is limited in agriculture. You cannot produce more land. You may of course reclaim more land. Therefore, in the measure that industry and science develops, the employment opportunities develop rapidly and absorb people from agriculture and from the growing population.

Your real difficulty would be, what about us, going through schools and colleges? Where do we fit in? Well, first of all, remember that you have infinitely greater chance of fitting in than your fathers and grandfathers had. There is no doubt about it. The problem arises because of the spread of education in India. Today, there are, I believe about forty-two or forty-three million boys and girls in schools and colleges in India. It is a large number, forty-two or forty-three millions!¹⁵ It is more than the population of many countries [Laughter]. But looking at India, it is only a part of our population. In order really to have full scale education in India, the number will probably be one hundred million, including children of course, children right up from, you might say, nursery stage to the university stage. Education will absorb a hundred million people, teachers and taught, both. Because, there will be millions of teachers too, to teach so many. Now, one hundred million means twenty-five per cent of our present population. It is a tremendous number and a tremendous burden on the state's resources, for one hundred million people to teach. They are doing a very, very important function, teachers and pupils, the teachers and taught. But those functions normally are not productive of material resources. The production stage comes afterwards. You join in some productive undertaking.

15. See item 1, fn. 4.

But you are all consumers; you eat and clothe yourselves, you consume the nation's wealth; and if a hundred million people are only consumers and not producers [Laughter], it makes a great difference. But nevertheless, that has to be; the production of the others has to be enough. Because it is of the highest importance that education should on the one hand be widespread and, on the other hand, its quality should be high. It is important, because all growth ultimately depends upon the quality of the education that a people get, may be technical, scientific, literary, humanistic, whatever it may be; and education is not much concerned with your examinations. Examination may be good enough to give you a chit for some job or the other. But in the real problems of life and the battles of life, examinations do not count. It is the real worth of the individual that counts, and in the real battle on an international scale, it is still more the worth of nations, the quality of the nation that counts.

Today, we face in the world an amazing situation, amazing in the sense that it is an ever-changing situation. As I told you, if I look back fifty years, to the time when I was a young man taking my degree and today, there is enormous difference, not only in India, but in the world. The whole texture of the world has changed. But what is even more important is that the pace of changes in the world have become swifter, faster and faster. That pace depending ultimately on scientific and technological change.

If you look back, say a hundred years or if you like to be sure, a little more than a hundred years, the normal living conditions in India, I am not talking in terms of politics, the normal living conditions were much the same as they were a thousand years ago. Communications were slow; communications a hundred years ago in India were about the same as they were in Akbar's time three hundred years ago. They were also the same in Asoka's time 2300 years ago. If you had to go from Bangalore anywhere, the fastest way for you to go was to ride a horse. There was no faster way. If you wanted to send a message anywhere, the fastest way was a good runner or a good horse. You see how life appears to have remained at a certain level for thousands of years. And because of that, changes took place, but not vital changes. Then something comes in. Something, the steam engine comes, the railway comes; and gradually it brings about a tremendous change in communications. People travel by railway. Everybody travels by railway. Everybody travels by railway now. And those methods of sending a message by horse or travelling are no more. Other things come. The automobile comes, the motor car, and ultimately the aircraft, air travelling, and so on. As for other communications, you send the telegram, you telephone, you listen into the radio, there is the radar; all these changes crowding in. Something which you do not even realise. You use them, you see them. The last hundred years therefore have been years of great change due to scientific,

and technological developments affecting the life of human beings. Obviously, your life is different from the life of our forefathers, who had to travel by chariot or on horseback from place to place.

So, this period has been one of great change. But, what I want you to realise is that the period now onwards is likely to be one of far greater change than the last fifty years, tremendous change because of scientific and technological progress. As such it goes forward in a geometrically faster way, because you get more and more experience and a vaster number of people are involved in it, and so now who could have dreamt a little while ago of the sputniks or the luniks and other rockets and others which are hurled into space. People say that soon, in a few years time, human beings will land on the surface of the moon. Now that may or may not do any good to anybody. But the point is the ability of the human mind to conquer and to understand more and more the secrets of nature and to utilise them to its own advantage. You have got atomic energy; unravelling the secrets of nature and seeing how the vast quantity of power is stored even in a little atom, which you cannot see. So, you live on the verge of tremendous changes in this world.

Here in India, one of the major things we have to understand, that is, this variety of this political crises and conflicts and arguments, the basic thing is India coming out of a traditional structure of society into the modern age. When I say that, I am not referring to certain ethical, spiritual values that our race has had, to which I attach the greatest importance, and without which, we would become characterless and ruthless. And India is a country which has deep roots in the past and you and I or the present generation have their roots going back thousands of years and we have been conditioned by these thousands of years. There is no question of uprooting ourselves; that will be a tragedy, and if we did uproot ourselves, there would be some new country that would arise, not India, as essentially it exists. So, I am not talking in terms of spiritual or ethical values, which mind you, are something broader, and if you have higher values, they are for the world, they are not for a community only. But I am now discussing, apart from these basic principles and values, the structure of society in which we live.

Now, this structure of society is a constantly changing one. Sometimes it changes, slowly and sometimes fast. It depends on the way you work, on the way you move. Your society changes when you start travelling by railway train. Naturally, a new factor has come in. And if you travel by air, again a gradual reorganisation of the social structure takes place when large numbers of people travel by air, or when you use telephones or telegraph. These are modern things which come in and shake up that structure; or even more so, your society changes when new and different types of occupations come in.

An agricultural society is one in which most people are engaged on land and handicraft and the like. That is, an agricultural society. As soon as the machine comes in, the big machine, occupations become different. The machine age comes in, whether the big machine, the small machine, and the occupations becomes slightly better. So, that society changes very much when the type of work you do, changes. Thus, if a peasant goes into a factory, he gradually becomes a different person. If millions of peasants go into the factory, it means a change definitely. That is, as the means of production change, the social structure changes. Now the means of production have changed in the last fifty to sixty years very greatly, the last hundred years in other countries and also in India. Therefore, our social structure has been changing but not rapidly enough. We still adhere to old forms and therefore there is a tug of war between the pulls of the present and the future and the present and of the past. The real problem of today is therefore, how far and how soon India can modernise itself, can come up to the modern state of scientific, technological living, again remember, keeping its old roots, intact. We have to, there is no choice about it. Not a question of your argument. Merely to survive, we should, let us say, produce enough food, produce enough of other things, and we cannot do all that by the old methods of production. This cannot be done.

The population of the world has gone up tremendously in the last hundred and fifty years, because of science and industry. They provided the means for people to live and have higher standards. Otherwise, they died off, as they died off in India. Today in India, people are more reluctant to die or rather they are always reluctant to die, what I mean is, because of better health, better living conditions [Laughter] they survive more, to a longer age. That essentially is a product of the new scientific and technological changes, better conditions of health, better this, and better that. Therefore, the problem is before you for the country, how to adapt itself to the modern age as quickly as possible. It is not merely a problem of buying a machine in Germany or Japan and to putting it here and starting a mill and making profits out of it. That is only an external application. There are quite large numbers of people who work on a machine or who drive an automobile and who profit by all this, who have not the remotest understanding of science or technology. They still live in the past age. Their minds are [in the] past. They take advantage; they travel by train. The ordinary peasant who travels by railway train does not thereby become a product of the industrial age. Even though a millionaire owns cars and may travel by car, totally incapable of knowing anything of the machine if it goes wrong. He will only sit in it and is driven by somebody else. So that it is not a question of multiplying odd factories, this or that, but of entering into the spirit of the modern, scientific and technological age and once we enter into the spirit of it,

then you yourself advance it. That is, you really don't read the text books produced in London, Paris, or in New York, or get the machines from abroad, but your thinking goes along those lines, you produce the books, you produce machines, because you have entered that age. That is the problem for us, and in the measure that we succeed in solving that problem, will prosperity and better organised society come in. We live between the two ages, the age let us say of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the age now in the middle of the twentieth century. Whether we like it or not, the world advances. Whether we like it or not, the United States of America, or the Soviet Union, or some other country, goes on making tremendous experiments in space travel which is changing the world. You and I may not go to the moon, but the power that sends a rocket to the moon is the power of nature which man begins to control. Once man controls that, it is an enormous thing for this world, for good or for ill.

You read about war and peace today, and peace is always good, but today the problem that has suddenly struck the people all over the world is that the means of destruction are so great in war that they might well destroy the world as a whole. That is to say, not a few persons, there can be no victors, it is just like you are living in a house and you are setting fire to the house because you dislike somebody else living in it. You get burnt up too. These natural powers, that have been gradually probed into, have become so tremendous that we should pull ourselves out of our own ways of thinking. Old hatreds, old conflicts, national conflicts and so on. They do not fit in with the modern age. What exactly will emerge out of it is very difficult to say. But the old world has been shaken up and the old world is merely dragging on. If out of these new powers destruction comes, then the whole world will be destroyed. If out of them, construction comes, when the world and the people in the world can be raised to much higher levels of existence.

In other words, the problem before humanity today is, whether the human being, his mind, his habits, his passions, his loves and hates, can be utilised to right advantage, the new forces placed at his disposal. The forces are so tremendous. It is almost a question of—you may take an automatic gun and give it to a monkey, and the monkey will easily learn how to use the gun. But it is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the monkey. His mind will not distinguish and he will play about with that gun and destroy all kinds of things. So human beings have a choice with these great weapons that they have got, of functioning like an ignorant monkey or like a person with some restraint and wisdom, knowing how to use this great force properly. That is the broad question. That leads us to another question that is coming to India.

What are we to aim at? Well, obviously, if we are to fit in this world, we

have to aim at developing our country, first of all, obviously from this morass of poverty. That is obvious. You can do nothing with poverty, this ill-health, and all evils of poverty, and poverty surrounding us.

And that of course, here may I in parenthesis say something which troubles me everywhere. Here is this beautiful city of Bangalore—palaces and fine buildings and fine research institute, fine factories—and yet when one goes to see the Harijan quarters here, one is shocked. The contrast between the poverty of those places and the rest of the city is so remarkable, that I feel bowled over completely. Although, I have become hardened still, it bowls me over and I wonder how it does not bowl over everybody else, how it does not bowl over the Corporation of Bangalore, for instance! However, I am sorry for this interlude.

I say that is the primary problem, that problem itself, the problem of poverty, can only be solved by modern, scientific methods, plus of course, hard work; hard work is essential. There is no way of doing it by magic. But apart from that, if we are to make good at all in this world, we have to be intellectually equipped for that purpose. It is a hard world. It is a competitive world. It is a world which does not pity the weak; the weak of the body or the weak of mind; it goes ahead trampling on the weak. That is the nature of the world; so we have to be strong of body and strong of mind, as individuals and as a nation. Otherwise we fall behind and all kinds of evils come down upon us. So, it becomes important not only that we should become strong in mind and body but that we should do that quickly before the world overwhelms us, before our own rising population becomes so big that it overwhelms us. All these problems are before us.

On the whole, the prospects before India are good, and they are fundamentally good not because we have got three steel plants and all that. That helps. We have laid the base of modern scientific industry, a strong base. Bangalore is a good place for science. But all over India, our science is progressing quite creditably; big plants are coming up. A new age is coming into India. There is no doubt about it. I have no shadow of doubt that whatever may be our troubles today in a few years hence whether I am there or not, I do not know, but you will be there, certainly you will see an industrialised India, a scientific India and advancing India and all that. That is bound to come. What I am concerned, what gives me faith, is not so much plants etc. going on, but because I am convinced of the broad quality of the Indian people.

Remember, you may talk of democracy and you should because it is a good thing; but to imagine that all people are alike, does not necessarily follow the conception of democracy. All people are not alike; all people must have the same opportunities to become alike, if they can. But the nation really advances

by the quality of its people, not by numbers. It will advance in India by the quality of those who are young men and young women today. Quality of mind, quality of character and to some extent quality of body, body and the soul is very important, but the most important of these three qualities are of mind and quality of character. India will advance by that and not because India has 400 million people; that is a burden on India; that does not help us to advance. But how many of those 400 million are men of mind and body and spirit and character and qualities which advance a nation? That is the point.

In the final analysis, these people, young men and young women who are in our colleges today or universities, schools, colleges and universities, it is out of them that the men and women of quality will come. May be, they are not there; they are in the villages, many people who have no chance, let us give all of them a chance, but inevitably, the men of quality will come, men and women from the present generation, from schools and colleges, and it is a matter of the highest importance therefore what these people are in our schools and colleges. How their character is developing, how their mind is developing. It is broadly because I have a high opinion of India's young men and young women today that I have a good opinion about the future of India; after all, what is India? India is you and me and all of us together, not something apart from us.

There can be no doubt also that there are all kinds of dangerous trends in our country; in every country to some extent in our country with which we are more concerned; disruptive trends, for lack of character, lack of courage, lack of discipline, call what you like, each by itself will matter much. But when you are entering into a race, suppose you are athletes, you have to train yourself for that race; you have to train in many ways; if you are entering a hundred yard race, you have to take a difficult training, significant training is necessary for the race. What you eat, what you drink; when you go to sleep, when you get up; and what exercise you take and all that; because you want to bring up your body to a high pitch of effort. That is all the difference in the world between the champion runner and the second rate runner. There may be a difference of three seconds but the three seconds makes all the difference. Whether you can run a hundred yards in less than nine seconds or more than ten seconds makes a difference between you being a first class or a second class person. Those few seconds are grave and that applies to everything. It applies to life. It really makes a little difference, between the ability to do a thing and the lack of ability.

So, here we are facing this world, this fierce world in a fierce competition. Positively, we have to make goods in India, but apart from that, we have to keep our end up in a world that is going ahead and grossly difficult and dangerous problems. How far have we realised that? How far do you young men and women realise it? It is a difficult task undoubtedly and unless we realise this

fully, obviously we cannot function fully. Therefore, sometimes a measure of apprehension comes into my mind when I see the absolute futilities in which some of our young people are engaged, the absolute lack of character, lack of discipline; how they get lost, they get excited about futile things of life forgetting their deeper significance.

I have had a pretty long life and if I may say so, a very satisfying life, not because I have become Prime Minister. That is the least part of it and that is not a very satisfying occupation. I have had a satisfying life broadly because I have been able to function when my mind and activity were in tune with each other and perhaps some of the most profitable years I have spent were the ten years in prison I have spent there. People sympathised with me, not realising how much they benefited me, although they were often hard years to go through. But you can never progress by soft life or soft thinking or soft action. And therefore, I have been very fortunate because of this alternation of difficulty and destruction and construction and because of all that and because it so happened that I have just fit in. [...] Some did not fit in. Therefore, they did not profit. Anyhow, I have enjoyed life not in the rather limited sense of what you might call happiness: the superficial happiness is good, but it is superficial; but rather a deeper satisfaction of working for big causes and finding satisfaction in the work itself regardless of result and if the result when it comes and it is a good result, then of course, a greater sense of satisfaction comes.

Now, I am more or less of the past. You are people with a future. You live at a time of the most tremendous change in the world. I have no doubt that twenty years hence, twenty-five years hence, the world would be very different from what it is today. You will see it, you will work for it. It is a world which becomes more and more a world of adventure, of advance and of danger. How are you fitting yourself for this; that is the problem for you, for all young men and young women of India? Are you wasting the most precious period of your life when you can train your body and mind for greater efforts in the future, are you wasting it in temporary things in futility? That would be a misfortune, because you will never get that. Whatever else you may get back, you will never get back the right period of your life, in your school and college and university. That does not come back; and that period should be one of building yourselves up, training your minds and bodies and fitting yourself out for the great adventure of life into which you launch out afterwards. At a time, as I have said, of the most tremendous excitement and change in the world, we want fine minds, fine bodies to face these; and if you have got them, that does not matter to India what policies you pursue. These arguments, these isms are irrelevant. Where strong well-trained men and women are concerned, they find their way; if men and women are weak, then all the isms and policies are futile.

Therefore, I hope you prepare yourself for this great future which awaits India and the world so that you might be able to play an important part in it and thereby not only serve India but have that real satisfaction of having done something worthwhile. Thank you. Jai Hind!.

4. In Ernakulam: Panchayats and Self-Reliance¹⁶

Mr Governor,¹⁷ Presidents of Panchayats, Friends and Children—an important part of the audience,

I am happy to be here for the purpose which is very dear to me. It is true that my main purpose in coming here today was not this Panchayat Conference,¹⁸ but if I had previously been told about it and I had an opportunity to come I would have come for this alone. Because I do feel that the most important thing in India—there are so many important things to be done—but one of the most important things in India is to build up these Panchayats—village panchayats and cooperatives. We can, we plan, and we make long lists of the things that we have to do and should do, etc. big industry, middle industry, small industry, agriculture and all that. That is very important, but in the final analysis it is the human being that is important; in the final analysis it is the building up of men and women that is important, because, it is the men and women who build up industries and agriculture and everything else. Of course, the mere process of building up men and women comes through other organisations and other methods—[that] is a different matter. But I do believe that certainly in the long run and even in the short run, one should always have organisations or administrative methods which primarily help to build up human beings. In fact, the whole of education is meant for that of course; not always the type of education we have, but nevertheless, that is the purpose of education.

Now in building up the human being what do we aim at? Not a human being who just has no particular mind of his own, who can just carry out somebody's orders or that sort, but the right type of human being. We want the creative type, a person who can think, a person who can evolve, a person who can invent, a person who can do, that is the type. That only comes from the opportunity and the habit of doing things, actually, oneself, not others to do it.

16. Speech. Inauguration of the Panchayati Raj Scheme, Ernakulam, 18 January 1960. AIR tapes NMML.

17. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

18. Nehru was on a four-hour visit to Kerala preparing for elections.

And therefore, one has to evolve systems where responsibility, whatever the measure of responsibility might be is cast, is widespread. Now, in British days that of course was not so. In fact, the responsibility then was concentrated at the top levels, and big officials, possibly to some extent that came down to the district official. Because the system was different, because of the foreign rule above that. But I am sure we have got used to that system of Government. That system had some virtues, undoubtedly, but not the basic virtue of allowing people to build themselves and rise. Therefore, it is becoming important, now, it was important ten years ago soon after independence came. But it is the most important now that we must build in this way so as to spread out responsibilities so as to minimise official controls.

I think we have good officials; nevertheless, I do not believe in official controls, official advice, and official help. Certainly, an official is a trained person who can help and who should help, but the moment you put responsibility on the official, that responsibility goes from others, and not only people suffer, but the work also ultimately suffers. Sometimes it may be that the official can do the job much better. Probably he can. No big job can be done without the understanding and cooperation and hard work of large numbers of people. Anyhow, I need not go into the philosophy of this. My point is that I believe the two states that we are talking [about] all over India today, namely giving powers to panchayats and establishing village cooperatives with powers are of basic and even revolutionary importance. From any point of view, if you like. Whatever your views on political or economic might be these are of basic importance. The village panchayats and the village cooperatives, of course, over them you may build up tier after tier all such organisation. I do not know what you call them here, sometimes it is called the panchayat samiti or the zila panchayat.

That is to say this organisation of panchayat on the one hand and the village cooperatives on the other in their respective spheres take charge of a great deal of work, more specially developmental work, but also other work which previously had to be done by government officials, from the District Magistrate downwards. That is a process which may not take place immediately. Some types of work no doubt will be the special responsibility of the District Magistrate and his colleagues—law and order and all that. But everything really from the nature of development and may be many other things must be decentralised.

In other words, we want to bring in the mass of the people into the structure, or if you like, into the administrative structure. They will not be government servants. But in their village or local area they are performing important functions of administration. That is a really democratic self-government. It is certainly democratic self-government for you to elect the assembly here or elect members to parliament. That is a very important part of democracy. But I believe more

and more that democracy should rest on stout roots, stout foundations and therefore, if we have in India, as I hope we shall have, a widespread and strong organisation of panchayats and village cooperatives, then we have laid the foundation of democracy deep and hard, and even if something goes wrong at the top, the country will basically go on.

Our problems today are essentially of production. Because, whatever our other problems may be, and they are many, it ultimately depends on the level of production in the country—agricultural production, industrial production. And we judge everything, whether in India or China or Russia or America or England, we judge everything by this rising production. How much percent has it risen in this area? What is the possibility of a surplus? Because on the surplus will depend the fresh investment for future advance. Because in India agriculture is of the most fundamental importance. It is an agricultural country. I have a feeling, I hope it is, and I am not too wrong that attention to agriculture has not been a marked feature of previous Kerala administrations. Of course, conditions here are somewhat different, no doubt. Nevertheless, that is the feeling I have had, I do not know it is a correct feeling or not; you know better. But it is the most important thing that in every part of India agriculture, agricultural improvement, should be given first place.

First place has no meaning, because we have to do many things at the same time. We must advance in industry, obviously, and Kerala is suited for industrial advance, more specially for a large number of small industries. Of course, if we have big industry, well and good. That depends on so many factors. But small industry does not have so many limiting factors. All it requires is a trained man with enterprise to do it.

In some parts of India, I have been astonished how small industries have grown rapidly. There are similar parts of India like this, but the one that I am personally acquainted with is Punjab, and a little bit of northern UP connected with the Punjab. After independence, and after the partition of India, Punjab was split up into two, and large numbers of refugees came from Pakistan Punjab with nothing, just clothes in their backs and nothing else. They might have been rich or they might have been poor. They came in exactly the same condition to us, with nothing except clothes on their backs which were usually torn. That is ten or twelve years ago, and most of these people have settled down and it is just astonishing how large numbers of them have made good—very often without the least governmental help—in the small industries I am talking about, of course, because the Punjabi is a good mechanic. He is a man with his hands; whether in the field or at a machine, he uses his hands. He is not a babu sitting on the top and issuing orders to others. He does the job himself, and that is the most important thing. Are you people who do jobs yourselves or do you order

others to do it? But this is a thing which every official must remember, however high he may be. The moment he forgets that he has to use his hands also and that it is not good enough to order other people about, the moment he forgets, his capacity as even an official becomes less and less.

We want people today whatever grade they may be, to work cooperatively with others. The big engineer loses his importance if he merely sits in a big office looking at charts and plans and ordering. He must always be capable, however senior he may be, to take off his coat and get down to work, to show others how to do so. That is how people work in other countries. You may have an argument here about communism, capitalism and all that. But the fact of the matter is whether you go to America or Russia, the big man takes off his coat and works in both the countries, America or Russia. And that is why both countries get on, not because of ideologies, but because they are workers, hard workers, big man or small.

So, there is this question of responsibility being cast on the people. Only responsibility makes the people grow. It is no good your coming to the Government, your going to your Minister, whenever you have the Minister do this and do that, for us. Of course, you may go there occasionally, but it is far better if the panchayat sits down and says we are going to do it. May be you require help and that help will be forthcoming. But you take the responsibility and do the job. And therefore, you should have powers and you should have resources from current taxation and you should have the power to levy fresh taxes on yourselves in order to get something yourselves, not your money to be spent somewhere else, but money to be spent in your village area.

So I welcome this trial, for this really is a major trial here, not mere law, as has been done in some states, notably Rajasthan and Andhra. In Rajasthan, all panchayats have been given powers by law and the district authorities now function, of course, but they function larger in the background, which is right. Now what happens? The panchayat people or the village people have got into the very bad habit of expecting other people to do something for them. Government, leaders, this, that, other, they go, political parties take out processions; it does not seem to strike anybody that the way to get things done is to do it. It is obvious it is not good going on shouting "let it be done", "let it be done" and say "let it be done", "do it." It may be you can't do everything. You cannot create a very big hydro-electric power scheme. It requires high class engineers. But there are even so many things one can do with little help and without even that help. Now we sit down and shout "let this be done" [Laughter], and take out processions and slogans "let this be done." It seems a quite extraordinary outlook that has grown here, "let this be done" have come down from the heavens, somebody will do it. Suppose, I wonder, suppose

unfortunately, a group of you people were travelling by sea and suffer shipwreck and landed on a bare island with all your habit of asking other people to do. You will be helpless, where is the Government to do it? Where is the District Magistrate to do it? And where is the Planning Commission to decide? And you will be helpless and you may hold the meeting of two and say "let this be done." Out there the matter will end. Either you do it or nobody will do it. It is a quite extraordinary habit to let people do it, instead of doing it by yourselves. Even in our resolutions, often enough young men and old men, they pass resolutions, "this must be done by the Government, this must be done." They seldom passed the resolution "this will be done by us." That will test them immediately. They have done it for them. If they don't do it, they fail. They don't go so far as to say this must be done by the President Eisenhower, that must be done by Mr Khrushchev, ordering everybody in the wide world to do things except doing it themselves. And it is the country where people do things themselves that counts and that goes ahead whatever the ideology. That is the real fact of the matter.

This thing, therefore, the development of panchayats and cooperatives is of highest importance because it directs the people's attention in the right direction for self-reliance and self-help. And they do good to themselves, do good to the villages, do good to the states and to India. Naturally, government and officials must cooperate. They are, therefore, for this purpose, they are not there as beautiful specimens to adorn the state, they have to do a bit of hard work. But the point is that the people must be responsible, they must feel that way even if they make mistakes. Go and make mistakes, I will come down upon you and tell you, you made mistakes, but nevertheless I prefer your mistakes to somebody else's good working. I have come to this state of mind.

So thank you for inviting me here today, you have my good wishes, for this experimental college, but I hope that very soon it will be something more than experiment and proper legislation, etc., will be passed here for all the panchayats in Kerala to have these powers and for these village cooperatives to be built up.

Thank you [Laughter].

Now, I am supposed to switch on. The curtain will go on and you see what has been done.

5. In New Delhi: Economic Growth and Change¹⁹

सभापति जी,

मेरे यहाँ पहुँचते ही मुझे हुकुम मिला यहाँ खड़े हो जाने का, कुछ आपसे कहने का। यहाँ आते-जाते रास्ते में मैंने तेज़ी से कोशिश की कि जो पिछले दो एक दिनों में आपके यहाँ कार्यवाही हुई थी उसको देखूँ और कुछ जो स्पीचेज़ हुई थीं उनको पढ़ूँ। कुछ तेज़ी से पढ़ने की आदत है तो कुछ उनको देख भी गया मैं। उसमें मैंने देखा कि अक्सर कुछ आपके मन में शिकायतें हैं गवर्नमेंट की नीति के सिलसिले में, उनका इज़हार हुआ। वो तो ठीक है, क्योंकि जो शिकायत हों उसको सामने रखना चाहिए। उस पर विचार हो कि कैसे वो रफ़ा हो सकें, अगर असल शिकायत है और दिक्कतें हैं। इस बात की खासतौर से चर्चा कि गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से कंट्रोल्स ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा हैं, टैक्स वगैरह ज़्यादा हैं। अब मैं इनकी निस्वत तफ़्सील से तो कुछ कह नहीं सकता, न मुनासिब हो मेरा कहना, एक आम कोई बात। यह बात सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान में टैक्सेशन काफी ऊँचा है और यह भी सही है कि कहीं-कहीं कंट्रोल है। कहाँ तक कौन कंट्रोल मुनासिब है वो ढीला किया जाये, यह तो एक अलग ग़ौर करने की बात है।

कंट्रोल मामूली तौर से कोई ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है कि कोई पसन्द करे, उसी वक़्त कंट्रोल्स का आना होता है जब ग़लत या सही एक मजबूरी सी हो। सबसे अच्छी इकॉनोमी ऐसी हो जिसमें कम से कम कंट्रोल्स हों। लेकिन यह भी ज़ाहिर मुझे होता है कि जो हमारे मुल्क की इस वक़्त हालत है उसमें कहीं न कहीं कंट्रोल्स की ज़रूरत हो ही जाती है। फर्ज़ कीजिए आप यहाँ के खाने के सामान का सिलसिला देखें, दाम बढ़ते हैं और दाम अक्सर बेज़ा बढ़ते हैं। उसका बोझा पड़ता है आम लोगों पर। क्या किया जाये उस वक़्त? इसको छोड़ दिया जाये कि अपने आप कहीं न कहीं सतह पा जायेंगे या कुछ और किया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो ज़रूरी चीज़ें इंसान की होती हैं, उसमें कुछ न कुछ इंतज़ाम की ज़रूरत होती है। और एक आवश्यक हो जाता है। नहीं तो वो नामुनासिब है कि समाज का एक हिस्से का फ़ायदा हो और बहुत सारे हिस्सों की हानि हो और बोझा पड़े उन पर। जब किसी चीज़ की ज़रा कमी हो, ज़रूरी चीज़ की। नामुनासिब है कि उस कमी से कुछ लोग बहुत फ़ायदा उठायें और आम लोगों को उससे नुकसान हो। यह तो मुझे एक सिद्धान्त रूप से सही बात मालूम होती है। ज़ाहिर है आप लोग इन बातों को एक तरफ़ से देखते हैं जोकि एक आपके लिए मुनासिब भी तरीका है और एक तरफ़ है। लेकिन पूरी तस्वीर जो शायद अगर आप ग़ौर करें, तो मुमकिन है दूसरी तरफ़ भी नज़र आए। बहरसूरत, यह सवाल ऐसे हैं कि इसको एक-एक फ़लसफ़े के तौर पर मुझे मुनासिब नहीं मालूम होता कि यह अच्छा कि वो अच्छा। बल्कि उसका इम्तहान एक ही होना चाहिए कि जो हमारा ध्येय है, लक्ष्य है, मक़सद है उस पर हम कैसे तेज़ी से पहुँचते हैं और आप लोगों का फ़ायदा किस तरह से ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा होता है या उनका बोझा कम कैसे होता है। क्योंकि जहाँ हम बहस करना शुरू करें बड़ी नीति पर, बुनियादी नीति और पॉलिसीज़ वगैरह पर तो हम लफ़्जों में कुछ खो जाते हैं और लफ़्जों के साथ एक पुरानी कहानियाँ होती हैं।

आमतौर से हिन्दुस्तान की हम आर्थिक हालत को देखें- इकॉनोमी को। एक इकॉनोमिस्ट की नज़र से, तो अब तक, अब कम हो गया है। अब तक हम इन मसलों पर गौर करते थे किसी क़दर अँग्रेज़ी या अमेरिकन या रूसी आँखों से। मेरा मतलब यह है कि हम किताबें पढ़ें, मज़मून पढ़ें। अमेरिकन ने लिखा, किसी रशियन ने लिखा, किसी अँग्रेज़ ने लिखा अपने मुल्क के हालात के हिसाब से उससे हमारे दिमाग कुछ ढलते थे। ज़ाहिर है उसमें कुछ फ़र्क़ होता था। हमारा मुल्क हल्के-हल्के लोगों ने देखना शुरू यह किया हमारे इकॉनोमिक्स ने। और इकॉनोमिस्ट ने भी कि ये जो सवाल उठते हैं हिन्दुस्तान ऐसे मुल्क में, यानी जो कि इस ज़माने में पिछड़ा हुआ है, इकॉनोमी के मामले में अंडरडेवलप्ड है। यानी जिसकी टेक्नॉलोज़ी अंडरडेवलप्ड है। वो सवाल दूसरे होते हैं, बमुकाबले उन मुल्कों के सवालों के, जहाँ कि डेवलप्ड इकॉनोमी जो कि टेक्नॉलोज़िकली आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। तो उस ग़ज़ से नापना उसको जोकि अमेरिका में ठीक हो या इंग्लैण्ड में या दूसरे ढँग से कहीं रूस में, वो तो सही नहीं है। हाँ, हम अमेरिका से सीख सकते हैं, इंग्लैण्ड से, फ़्रांस से, हर मुल्क से, जर्मनी से और रूस से भी। लेकिन आखिर में जो सवाल हमारे हैं, हमारे मुल्क के, वो दूसरे किस्म के हैं। हमारे मुल्क से मेरा मतलब जोकि एक अंडरडेवलप्ड मुल्क हैं। चाहे वो हिन्दुस्तान हो या पाकिस्तान हो या इंडोनेशिया या एशिया के और मुल्क हों। जो ज़रा दूसरे ढँग के सवाल हैं जोकि डेवलप्ड इकॉनोमी के नहीं होते। इंग्लैण्ड में, अमेरिका में दूसरे ढँग के सवाल हैं। उससे हम सीख सकते हैं ज़रूर, उनके पुराने तज़ुर्बे से और और अब के तज़ुर्बे से। चुनाँचे अब जो हमारा अर्थशास्त्र पंडित है इकॉनोमिस्ट, उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि हिन्दुस्तान के मामले को नए दिमाग से सोचना चाहिए। महज़ पुरानी किताबें पढ़के जिसमें ज़्यादातर अँग्रेज़ी, अँग्रेज़ों के सवाल हैं या कुछ हैं, उससे नहीं चलता।

आप साम्यवाद को लें, कम्युनिज़्म को, अब्बल तो यह कह देना अपने दिमाग में कह देना कि यह तो निकम्मी चीज़ है, यह तो एक वहाँ तो एक, एक जाहिल चीज़ है, यह तो एक सही तरीका किसी मसले पर भी गौर करने का नहीं है। क्योंकि निकम्मी चीज़ों को भी समझना होता है। अगर उनका असर दुनिया पर हो, क्यों हुआ, कैसे हुआ, क्या इसके पीछे फ़लसफ़ा है? लेकिन वो तो है, जो चीज़ एक दुनिया के एक तिहाई दुनिया में फैली हो उसको निकम्मा कह देना तो माने नहीं रखता है। उसको हम अपनी राय में ग़लत कहें वो सही हो सकता है। लेकिन आप देखें अजीब हालत है साम्यवाद की। जो फ़लसफ़ा उसके पीछे है वो सौ बरस हुए समझिए कमोबेश शुरू हुआ था। और किस तरह से शुरू हुआ कि जो उसके महापंडित थे उन्होंने इंग्लैंड में जहाँ कि यह उद्योग की इंडस्ट्रियल क्रान्ति पहले हुई, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन उसकी जाँच पड़ताल उन्होंने की। और उससे यानी जोकि डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए इंग्लैंड में हुआ था, 19वीं सदी के शुरू में उसकी उन्होंने बहुत जाँच पड़ताल की और बहुत माकूल की जाँच-पड़ताल। और उससे उन्होंने कुछ नतीजे निकाले और वो नतीजे सही हों या ग़लत हों। वो दूसरा सवाल है, उसमें तो मैं नहीं जाता। लेकिन इस बुनियाद पर कि जो इंग्लैंड में डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए हालत थी या सवा सौ बरस हुए उसके नतीजे सवा सौ बरस बाद लगाये जायें कहीं। वह सब कुछ सही नहीं मालूम होता है। वही बुनियाद है।

मार्क्स एक बड़ा आदमी था, दिमागी आदमी था, उसने बहुत बातें कहीं जिससे कि हम सीख सकते हैं, लेकिन यह बुनियादी बात हमेशा याद रखनी है कि उसने अपने नतीजे निकाले-

उन वाक्यात के जो सवा सौ बरस हुए, 150 बरस हुए इंग्लैंड में थे। जबकि एक नया ज़माना खुल रहा था इंग्लैंड में और बाद में दुनिया में फैला। यानी इंडस्ट्रियलाइज़ेशन का ज़माना, नयी दुनिया आ रही थी, जिसने बड़े-बड़े फर्क किए। अब यह कहे कोई कि उस बात को सवा सौ बरस में लगाई जाए वैसे हो तो ज़ाहिरा ग़लत मालूम होती है। उसकी वाज़ बातें अच्छी हों, लगायी जायें, लेकिन दुनिया बदल सी गयी सवा सौ बरस में, काफी फर्क हुआ। तो एक-दूसरे यह एक बात जोकि इंग्लैंड में मौजूं थी या वैस्टर्न यूरोप में, वो एशिया के मुल्कों में सवा सौ बरस बाद मौजूं हो। वो एक और भी अजीब बात मालूम होती है। तो इसका नतीजा एक तो ये मैंने आपसे कहा।

दूसरा पहलू उसका आप देखें कि इंग्लैंड में, फ्रांस में, जर्मनी में, अमेरिका में अर्थशास्त्र के और पंडित हुए- मार्क्स के पहले या बाद बहुत कुछ। और उन्होंने इन सवालों पे गौर किया जो उस ज़माने में थे ज़्यादातर। 19वीं सदी में इन मुल्कों के थे। यानी वो एक उस ज़माने में इंडस्ट्रियलाइज़ेशन जैसे बढ़ रहा था। और उससे उन्होंने नतीजे निकाले वो भी गौरतलब हैं, उनसे हम सीख सकते हैं। लेकिन वो भी एक ज़माना जो गुज़र गया उसके हैं। नये ज़माने के नहीं हैं और ऐसी हालत के निस्वत है। जोकि वहाँ भी बदल गयी और बहरसूरत हिन्दुस्तान की वो हालत उस ढँग की नहीं है। मेरा मतलब यह मिसालें देने से यह है कि दुनिया जिस तेज़ी से बदलती है उस तेज़ी से दिमाग नहीं बदलते, दिमाग पहुँचते नहीं। किसी फ़न में आप ले लें, लड़ाई का फ़न ले लें आप। एक मशहूर बात है- लड़ाई, बड़ी लड़ाइयों में, कि लड़ाई शुरू होती है तो सिखाया जाता है फौजी अफ़सरों को ज़ाहिर है पुरानी लड़ाइयों का हाल बताया जाता है। हथियार बदल जाते हैं और हथियार बदलने से सारा ढँग बदल जाता है लड़ने का। लेकिन तालीम आमतौर से पुराने हथियारों की होती है। चुनाँचे एक लड़ाई शुरू होती है तो बहुत कम ऐसा होता है कि जो बड़े अफ़सर लड़ाई के होते हैं वो ज़्यादा दिन तक रह सकें वहाँ। पिछली लड़ाई में आप देखें ज़्यादातर मुल्कों में जितने बड़े-बड़े ज़बर्दस्त अफ़सर थे - छः महीने, आठ महीने में सब हटा दिए गए। नए आदमी उनकी जगह रखे गए। क्योंकि अच्छे आदमी थे वो। लेकिन ज़माना बदल गया था, लड़ाई के तरीके बदल गये थे, उनकी तालीम नहीं बदली थी, उनका दिमाग पिछले ज़माने में अटका हुआ था। फिर नये तजुर्बे के नये किसी क़दर नौजवान जनरल्स आये। वो बड़े अफ़सर बनाये गये, वो लड़े और वो हारे या जीते। यह एक अजीब बात है कि इस ज़माने में दुनिया के जबकि इस तेज़ी से दुनिया में नयी-नयी बातें पेश हुई हैं, नयी-नयी ताकतें आयी हैं, शक्तियाँ आयी हैं, जिसको आप जानते हैं। जिसने इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन किया, एटोमिक रेवोल्यूशन कर रहे हैं। क्यों कर रहे हैं? क्योंकि प्रकृति की नयी-नयी ताकतें इंसान के हाथ में आयीं और उसने रहन-सहन बदल दिया। हमारे यहाँ इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन शुरू हुआ एक माने में कहिए जब यहाँ रेल बननी शुरू हुई। वो जड़ आ गयी इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की। रेलवेज़ लाइन और और चीज़ें भी आयीं। फिर थोड़ी बहुत फैक्टरी बनीं। ज़ाहिर है वो दबाया गया। यहाँ की उस वक़्त की हुकूमत ने बढ़ने नहीं दिया। यहाँ के इंडस्ट्री का बढ़ना यह तो आप सब जानते हैं।

तो दुनिया बदली तेज़ी से, पिछले ज़माने में सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस में। और ऐसी बदली कि जैसे कि हज़ारों बरस से नहीं बदली थी। उसकी कोई भी मिसाल आप ले लें। मैंने रेल का आपसे

कहा। लेकिन मामूली तौर से कोई भी सफ़र का तरीका या ख़बर भेजने का कम्युनिकेशन वगैरह का हज़ारों बरस से करीब-करीब एक था दुनिया में। कुछ फ़र्क़ होता था लेकिन ज़्यादा नहीं, एकदम से रेल आयी, कितनी बातें आयीं, तार भेजना आया, टेलीफोन करना आया, हवाई जहाज़ आए, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी की ताक़त आयी, जेट-एज आ गया। अब, रेडार है, स्पेस-ट्रेवल कहाँ के कहाँ पहुँच गये। आप देखें, और इन सब बातों का इंसान की ज़िन्दगी पर ज़बर्दस्त असर पड़ता है, ज़ाहिर है रहन-सहन पर - रेल ने किया असर, बिजली ने किया और करती जायेगी। नयी ताक़तें आयी दुनिया में, नेचर की पहचान की गयी और इस क़दर पहचान ली गयी है कि अब दुनिया के सामने सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह है कि यह ताक़तें दुनिया को ख़त्म कर देती हैं, या उससे फ़ायदा उठाया जाता है।

जब यह नयी शक्ति और नया रूप दुनिया के आने लगे। तो ज़ाहिर है या ज़ाहिर होना चाहिए कि जो तरीक़े हमारे काम करने के थे उनको भी बदलना है- नयी दुनिया को समझकर। लेकिन दिमाग तेज़ी से चलता नहीं इंसान का। वो जकड़ा होता है पुरानी बातों से। जिसको उसने सीखा है, जिसकी आदत है। और जब तक मजबूरी नहीं होती उसके दिमाग पर वो नहीं पकड़ता बातें। जब तक पकड़ता है और वाक़यात तब तक और आगे बढ़ जाते हैं।

ऐसी बातें, आप अमेरिका जायें। यहाँ आप ऐसी क़ौम को देखें, जो कि तेज़ी से बदली है और बदलती जाती है। और हरेक शख्स समझता है कि मुझे अपने आप से आगे जाना है, दुनिया को बदलना है यानी उनका एक दिमाग है जोकि बदलती हुई दुनिया को महसूस करता है और चाहता है कि हम बदलते जायें उसके साथ। एक जगह रहते भी नहीं वो, घर बदलते रहते हैं बिल्कुल उनका एक मूविंग दिमाग है, ग़लत या सही। लेकिन है, स्टेटिक नहीं है। किसी क़दर सारी दुनिया का है। मैंने अमरीका की मिसाल इसलिए दी कि सबसे ज़्यादा उनका एक डायनेमिक दिमाग है जो कहीं जमता नहीं, स्टेटिकली हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में। और, और मुल्कों में भी बहुत हमारी सोसाइटी, समाज जिसको कहा जाये ट्रेडिशनल है, ट्रेडिशन में, रिवाज़ों में, कस्टम्स में, तरीक़ों में, उसको मानती है और उसमें चिपकी है। हालांकि और बातों से फ़ायदा उठाती है। आपमें से बहुत सारे लोग या सब लोगों के पास मोटरें हों, नयी दुनिया की चीज़ पर आप चढ़ते हैं। लेकिन कहीं मोटर रुक जाये तो आप उसको कुछ नहीं कर सकते। यदि आप समझते नहीं मोटर के अंदर का हाल। बाज़ साहब समझें, आमतौर से बिल्कुल नहीं समझेंगे। लाचारी है, किसी को बुलाओ कहीं से, दुकान भेजो, मेकैनिक को बुलाओ ठीक करें। चाहे ज़रा सा एक स्क्रू ढीला हो गया हो, उसको कसने से ठीक हो जाये वो आप नहीं कर सकते। अमेरिका में हर बच्चा कर सकेगा करीब-करीब। तो अब जहाँ कुछ हुआ वो खुद करेगा। क्योंकि उसका दिमाग, उसकी ट्रेनिंग ऐसी है- करें, यहाँ नहीं है।

तो आप लोग, अगर माफ़ करेंगे मेरा कहना, नक़ली तौर से इंडस्ट्रियल एज में आए हैं, असली नहीं। आप रेल पर चढ़ते हैं लेकिन रेल कैसे बनती है, कैसे चलती है? इसका आपको इल्म नहीं। अगर आपके सामने रेल का बनाना हो तो आप क्या करें? आप करें और लियाक़त से करें कि कुछ अच्छे-अच्छे इंजीनियर्स को नौकर रखेंगे, उनसे कहो बनाओ। वो बना भी दें शायद, आप नहीं समझें उसको कुछ। तो हम एक ट्रेडिशनल सोसाइटी में फँसे हैं- हमारा समाज। और उसकी आप और मिसालें देख सकते हैं कि किसी बात में तो आप बहुत तेज़ी

से मॉडर्न इंडस्ट्री में बढ़ने की कोशिश करें और कामयाबी भी हासिल करें। लेकिन बहुत सारी और बातों में आप बिल्कुल सोलह आने उसी ट्रेडिशनल समाज में फँसे हैं जिससे कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं आज का। तो यह एक कश्मकश होती है ट्रेडिशनल समाज में और यह जो नया समाज बनता जाता है जिसकी बुनियाद साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी है। और जब तक साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी नहीं जमकर मज़बूत होती है एक मुल्क में, आजकल के ज़माने में। और सब ऊपरी बातें हैं, जिससे कुछ फ़ायदा हो जाये, हो सकता है। लेकिन जितना फ़ायदा होना चाहिए वो नहीं हो सकता। बुनियादी सवाल हो जाता है। आप सवाल उठायेँ और सब सवाल- वो एक ऊपरी हैं, हालाँकि अहमियत रखें।

इस वक़्त क्या एक शख्स ने जोकि बहुत लायक शख्स है एक मज़मून लिखा था। बल्कि एक स्पीच दी थी, कैम्ब्रिज में या इंग्लैंड में, मालूम नहीं कहाँ।²⁰ उसने समाज के चार-पाँच हिस्से किए थे। एक हिस्सा ट्रेडिशनल समाज सोसाइटी, सिलसिले चले आते हैं। दूसरा हिस्सा ट्रेडिशनल समाज में ये नयी दुनिया का असर पड़ने लगा, नयी टेक्नॉलोजी का असर पड़ने लगा। साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी का तो हल्के-हल्के बदलने लगी। तीसरा हिस्सा, कि जब वो इतनी बदल गयी कि वो अपनी शक्ति से और बदल सके। और चौथा हिस्सा एक वो पूरे तौर से टेक्नॉलोजिकली मैच्योर हो गयी। और पांचवाँ जिसको उसने अँग्रेज़ी में कहा था हाई कन्ज़म्पशन सोसाइटी। वो हाई कन्ज़म्पशन सोसाइटी जभी आयी जब टेक्नॉलोजी में बहुत बढ़ गये। और प्रोडक्शन इतना बढ़ गया कि हाई कन्ज़म्पशन हो सकता है, हाई प्रोडक्शन की वजह से। अब आजकल की दुनिया में बिल्कुल कोई ट्रेडिशनल सोसाइटी सोलह आने तो रही नहीं। क्योंकि कुछ न कुछ असर इसका पड़ा ही है हर समाज के ऊपर- टेक्नॉलोजी का, बाज़ असर है जहाँ बहुत कम पड़ा हो। लेकिन शायद ही कोई हो।

तो कुछ-कुछ मुल्क ऐसे हैं जोकि कहा जाये, जैसे यूरोप के अक्सर मुल्क हैं, अमेरिका है ही, रूस भी है, और कुछ इधर-उधर और मुल्क हैं। ज़्यादा नहीं थोड़े से जोकि कहलाये जाते हैं- आजकल इस टेक्नॉलोजी के सिलसिले में, मैच्योर हो गये, पक्के हो गये। और वो उस दरवाज़े पर हैं जिसको कहा जाता है हाई-कन्ज़म्पशन सोसाइटी। जो सबसे ज़्यादा अमेरिका में है। कन्ज़म्पशन, प्रोडक्शन, हाई कन्ज़म्पशन और जगह भी होता जाता है। हम कहाँ हैं इस सिलसिले में? हमारे निस्वत यह समझा जाता है कि हम दूसरे दर्जे के आखिर में, तीसरे के शुरु में- यानी जो टेक्नॉलोजी का हम पर असर हुआ है, काफी हुआ है। इंडस्ट्री की बुनियाद वगैरह काफी बढ़ी है। लेकिन उस दर्जे तक नहीं बढ़ी कि वो एक अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ती जाये पूरे तौर से। और फिर अपने ऊपर मुनहस्सर है कि किस तेज़ी से हम बढ़ें? हम बढ़ रहे हैं और एक माने में तेज़ी से भी बढ़ रहे हैं। लेकिन उस जगह नहीं पहुँचे, कब पहुँचें? यह तो एक अंदाज़ की बात है। दो चार मुल्क ऐसे हैं, यों तो सभी मुल्क उस खाने में हैं। लेकिन उस खाने के शुरु में और बाद में कौन है? शायद इस वक़्त गिना जाता है कि तीन या चार मुल्क ऐसे हैं जो इस दूसरे खाने के आखिर में पहुँचे हैं और तीसरे में जा सकते हैं। यानी जब टेक्नॉलोजी

काफी वहाँ बढ़ गयी हो। जापान तो ख़ैर ज़्यादा आगे है- तीस चालीस बरस हुए या ज़्यादा। वो तीसरे ख़ाने में चला गया था, चौथे टेक्नॉलोजिकली मैच्योर ख़ाने में।

अब एशिया में दो मुल्क हैं जो उस ख़ाने में घुसने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और कामयाबी से किसी क़दर, एशिया में दो मुल्क हैं हिन्दुस्तान और चीन। यूरोप के तो अक्सर मुल्क बढ़ गये हैं आगे। साउथ अमेरिका में भी एक दो मुल्क हैं जो कोशिश कर रहे हैं तीसरे ख़ाने में जाने की।

तो सवाल यह होता है कि उस तीसरे ख़ाने में कैसे जल्दी से जल्दी पहुँचें? हमारे सामने, हमने काफी तरक्की की है और मैं आपको बताऊँ अभी चंद रोज़ हुए एक शख्स, हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं बाहर के मुल्कों का। और एक काफी लायक आदमी और जानकार- वो कहने लगा, कि पिछले दो सौ बरस से जो हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ तरक्की हुई थी, जो कुछ कहो तरक्की, वगैरह। उससे कहीं ज़्यादा इस तुम्हारे दस बरस, दस-बारह बरस में हुई है।²¹ फिर तुम इतने लालची हो गये हो कहते हो और चाहिए और तरक्की हो, और हो। बजाय इसको महसूस, तरक्की तो करनी चाहिए तुम्हें। बजाय इसके कि कुछ इत्मीनान हो तुम्हें कि हम बढ़ रहे हैं तेज़ी से। लालच इतना है बढ़ने का और कि उसको बुरा भला कहते हो, उस ज़माने को। ख़ैर, यह तो एक मज़ाक की बात थी। लेकिन उसमें कुछ असलियत भी थी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं, पिछले दस बारह बरस में हमने काफी तरक्की की है, बुनियादी तरक्की की है। उसका असर यह एक पेंच उसमें पड़ जाता है इसका असर उतना ज़्यादा नहीं हुआ। आमतौर से लोगों के रहन-सहन पर जितना कि हम चाहते थे। कुछ तो असर हुआ ही, कन्ज़म्पशन बढ़ गया कुछ। लेकिन बाज़ हिस्सों पे कम्युनिटी के उसका असर नहीं हुआ था। और होना चाहिए। वो एक ग़ौरतलब बात है।

तो हम इस जगह पर हैं इस वक़्त हैं हिन्दुस्तान में। अब पहली बात तो यह मैं फिर दोहराऊँगा कि हमें अपने सवालों को, अपने इस नक्शे को देखना है और समझना है। और यूरोप और अमेरिका और रूस के नक्शों से चलता नहीं। उससे हम सीखें सभों से, लेकिन नक्शा चलता नहीं है। यहाँ की हालत दूसरी है। दूसरे ये हमें समझ लेना है कि अगर हम तरक्की चाहते हैं इस ढँग की। यानी जिस ढँग की यूरोप, अमेरिका, रूस, वगैरह में हुई है, तो उसकी बुनियाद साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी है। साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी में हम तरक्की करें, तो वो हमें एक बुनियादी तौर से करनी है। अपने यहाँ पैदा करें ऐसे लोग, यह नहीं है। और यहाँ के मुल्क का दिमाग उधर जाये। यानी मामूली आदमी का भी उधर जाये, न कि यह हम एक दुनिया में रहें और समझें कि हम अपने मुल्क को बढ़ा देंगे। ज़रा सीखे हुए इंजीनियर्स को बुलाकर कहा कि कर दो इस काम को काफी नहीं है। दुनिया बदलती है, ऊपरी बात है। जिससे कुछ फ़ायदा हो जाये या न हो।

तो किस ढँग से इस बात को हम करें तेज़ी से। तेज़ी से इसलिए कि अलावा इसके कि हम चाहते हैं कि जल्दी हमारी तरक्की हो लेकिन हमारे चाहने के अलावा वाक़यात की मज़बूरी है। क्यों मैं आपको दूसरे उसमें एक दूसरी तरफ़ आपका दिमाग डालूँ। इंग्लैंड और अमेरिका

21. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 4-6.

और यूरोप के मुल्कों में आर्थिक तरक्की होनी शुरू हुई इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन से। कब्ल इसके कि वहाँ पूरे तौर से पोलिटिकल आज़ादी थी। पूरे तौर से पोलिटिकल आज़ादी के माने यह नहीं कि वो कोई दूसरा मुल्क उनके ऊपर था, वो तो खुदमुख्तार थे, आज़ाद थे। लेकिन वो आज़ादी थोड़े से आदमियों के काबू में थी। अगर उसका एक टेस्ट आप लें, एक इम्तिहान करें कि पार्लियामेंट्स वहाँ थी, पार्लियामेंट्स को चुनता कौन था? थोड़े से आदमी चुनते थे, बिल्कुल थोड़े से, मुट्ठीभर आदमी। खुदमुख्तार मुल्क थे, डेमोक्रेटिक, वगैरह कहलाते थे। लेकिन वोट थोड़े से ही आदमियों का था। यह अभी की बात है मेरे ज़माने की- 20वीं सदी, पिछली, पहली बड़ी लड़ाई के बाद की, कि इंग्लैंड में वोट काफी फैला है। चुनाँचे उनको एक सौ बरस मिले जबकि पोलिटिकल आज़ादी महदूद थी, थोड़े आदमियों में। लेकिन आर्थिक तरक्की हो रही थी। यह ज़माना उन्हें मिला। पूरी पोलिटिकल आज़ादी आर्थिक तरक्की के बाद आयी, क्योंकि पोलिटिकल आज़ादी के आने से पोलिटिकल मांगें आ जाती हैं, डिमांड आ जाती है आम लोगों की, ज़ोरों से। खाली वोट से नहीं और तरहों से।

तो उनको करीब सौ बरस हुए, कि ऐसी मांगें बहुत ज़ोरों से न आयें, कुछ तो आती ही थीं, और वो अपने आर्थिक स्ट्रक्चर को मज़बूत कर लें, बुनियाद दें। जब पोलिटिकल आज़ादी पूरी उनकी आयी उनके पास। तब उनके पास सामान था उसकी मांगें पूरी करने के लिए, इतना उनका आर्थिक स्ट्रक्चर बढ़ गया था। हमारे यहाँ पोलिटिकल आज़ादी सोलह आने आयी। कब्ल इसके कि हमारे यहाँ इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन आये। कब्ल इसके कि हमारा आर्थिक स्ट्रक्चर इतना बड़ा हो और पोलिटिकल आज़ादी आने ही से हरेक को वोट, हरेक को वोट, हरेक को और बातें, हर तरफ़ से मांगें, यह हो, वो हो। और बहुत मांगें, यह नहीं कि बेज़ा हों। लेकिन हमारे पास सामान नहीं, उन मांगों को पूरा करने का। क्योंकि आर्थिक स्ट्रक्चर इतना बड़ा नहीं था, बढ़ रहा था।

तो यह कशमकश हो गयी हमारे मुल्क में। और ऐसे मुल्कों में और जगह भी पेंच पैदा हो गया उसके आगे पीछे होने से। और इसकी वजह से बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न सामाजिक प्रश्न उठ आते हैं। जिससे समाज में गड़बड़ पैदा हो, झगड़ा-फ़साद हो, सोशल प्रॉब्लम्स चले जाते हैं। जिससे आप हिन्दुस्तान के सवालों का मुकाबला इंग्लैंड और जर्मनी और फ्रांस और अमेरिका से नहीं कर सकते। यह बड़ी बात है, आपके समझने की कि पोलिटिकल आज़ादी आयी। हरेक को अपनी मांगों का, हरेक को एक पोलिटिकल कांशनेस आयी। हरेक की अपनी मांगें उनकी बढ़ने लगीं बड़े ज़ोरों से, यह लाओ, और वो लाओ और सामान हमारे पास नहीं था। क्योंकि मुल्क इतना आर्थिक ट्रेड पर तरक्की उसने नहीं की थी। चुनाँचे दूसरे ढ़ंग से उसको देखना है। और इसलिए भी हम आसानी से देर नहीं लगा सकते इन सवालों को हल करने में। जितनी तेज़ी से करना चाहिए, कर सकते हैं, करें। नहीं तो उसके सोशल अपसेट्स होते हैं। यह एक मोटी तस्वीर मैंने आपके सामने रखी।

आपके जो सवाल आपने उठाए उससे इसका सीधा ताल्लुक नहीं हैं। लेकिन इस तस्वीर में इस बड़ी तस्वीर में आप अपने सवालों को- और, और सवालों को देखिए। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि हमें जो हमारी ताक़त है, जो हमारे सामान हैं, रिसोर्सिज़ हैं, उनका बेहतरीन इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए। जिससे जल्दी से जल्दी नतीजे निकलें। नतीजे क्या? नतीजे अव्वल

यह कि दौलत पैदा हो मुल्क में। दौलत के माने हैं कि उत्पादन हो, प्रोडक्शन हो काफी, वो दौलत है। सोना-चांदी तो दौलत नहीं है। दौलत तो है- वो चीज़, जो पैदा होती है ज़मीन से कारख़ाने से या जहाँ कहीं हो। और दूसरे उसका ठीक बँटवारा हो। ठीक बँटवारे के माने नहीं कि हरेक को तराजू में तोलकर मिले। लेकिन ऊँच-नीच कम हो। आजकल के ज़माने को बर्दाश्त नहीं है - इस बात की, दुनिया में नहीं बर्दाश्त। हाँ ज़बर्दस्ती इसको रख लें, कुछ दिन के लिए। लेकिन सारी हवा दूसरी है। आप जानते हैं। जो कुछ चाहे आप उसको कहें। आप उसको कहें समाजवाद की हवा है सोशलिज़्म की, इसकी, उसकी, हवा वो है।

आप ऐसे देश को देखें जैसे अमरीका है जोकि एक कैपिटलिस्ट पूंजीवादी देश गिना जाता है सबसे बड़ा। अब आप गौर से देखें। कई बातें हैं, एक तो यह कि वो कहेंगे कि बहुत ग़रूर से कि हमारे यहाँ मामूली से मामूली आदमी हो, कुछ हैसियत हो उसके लिए दरवाज़े खुले हैं, कि वो प्रेसीडेंट हो जाए यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स का। वो बड़े से बड़ा अफ़सर हो, बड़े से बड़ा, बड़ी से बड़ी उसकी हैसियत हो। यानी अपोर्चुनिटी हरेक को बराबर हो। वो कहते हैं यह लक्ष्य और अपोर्चुनिटी हरेक को बराबर हो, हम इस बात को भी कहते हैं हमारे यहाँ वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट हैं। हमारे यहाँ असली ग़रीबी कभी नहीं रहती। ठीक है और काफी औसत रहने का लोगों का बढ़ गया यह भी ठीक है। यानी मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप गौर करें जो बातें एक पचास बरस हुए सोशलिस्ट करते थे, वो आजकल के अमरीका के कैपिटलिस्ट कहते हैं। हवा बदल गयी है, कोई नहीं कह सकता। दूसरी बात है। और अमेरिका में आप जानते हैं आप कंट्रोल्स वगैरह का ज़िक्र करते हैं, हो सकता है यहाँ कोई नामुनासिब कंट्रोल हो। लेकिन अमरीका के इकॉनोमिस्ट से बातें कर रहा था, उन्होंने कहा- यहाँ तो ज़िक्र बहुत है अमरीका में इससे ज़्यादा कंट्रोल है पूंजीवादी देश में। तुम्हारे यहाँ कम हैं। बस मिला के देखभाल के, कहीं ज़्यादा कंट्रोल हमारे यहाँ है। क्योंकि आजकल का समाज ऐसा हो गया है कि एक पेचीदा समाज हो गया कि उसमें कोई ज़रिया नहीं है इससे बचने का, कंट्रोल से। ऐसे मुल्क में भी जहाँ कि इफ़रात है, जहाँ कि प्रोडक्शन इतना ज़्यादा है और जहाँ कि कमी हो वहाँ तो ज़ाहिर है और भी पेचीदा, दिक्कत हो जाती है। वो करना पड़ता है, नहीं तो सिद्धांत छोड़िए, नहीं तो आप उसका मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकते। जो समाज में अपसेट्स हों, सोशल अपसेट्स हों, पोलिटिकल कांशसनेस में। यह बातें आप अपने सामने रखिए, यह कोई एक, यह कोई एक दिमाग का महज़ फ़लसफ़ा नहीं है कि हम एक बात को पसन्द करते हैं उसको हम करते हैं। यह तो वाक़यात को देखकर, क्या वाक़यात में हम करें जिससे हम अपने लक्ष्य की तरफ़ जायें। और जिससे कम से कम लोगों पर बोझा पड़े, आम जनता पर। यह मोटे तौर से मैंने आपको बताया कि यह सब चाहे प्लानिंग कहिए। उसे चाहे जो कुछ कहिए, क्या है?

आप शिकायत करते हैं कि रुकावटें आपके सामने आती हैं। मैं तफ़सील में तो जाता नहीं। लेकिन उसूल तो यह होना चाहिए किसी काम में भी, चाहे आपके काम में या व्यापार में या कहीं भी कि जब तक एक-एक बिल्कुल आवश्यक नहीं समझा जाये, उस वक़्त तक रुकावटें ठीक नहीं हैं। रुकावटें रुकावटों के लिए थोड़े ही की जाती हैं, आवश्यक समझा जाये तब करना पड़ता है। क्योंकि न करने से उसके नतीजे ख़राब होते हैं। फिर बहुत नाइंसाफी होती है या सोशल अपसेट होते हैं। तो कंट्रोल्स ऐसी हालत में ज़रूरी पड़ जाते हैं, हर मुल्क

में हैं, कहीं ज़्यादा कहीं कम। और जिस मुल्क में ज़रूरी चीज़ों की कमी हो, उनमें और भी हो जाते हैं।

ज़रूरी चीज़ों की कमी कैसे होती है? लीजिए गल्ला वगैरह हिन्दुस्तान में अगर पुराने अन्दाज़ से हम हिसाब लगायें, तो हमारे यहाँ गल्ला इस वक़्त ज़रूरत से बहुत ज़्यादा हो रहा है। लेकिन पुराना अन्दाज़ बदल गया। क्योंकि लोग खाने लगे ज़्यादा और अच्छी बात हुई कि लोग खाने लगे ज़्यादा, खुशहाली हुई। जो लोग ज्वार खाते थे अब गेहूँ खाने लगे, कुछ चावल खाने लगे, कमी होने लगी। यानी यह निशानियाँ हैं एक तरक्की की। लेकिन उस तरक्की से यह एक माने में सारे आपके करीब-करीब सब कंज़्यूमर गुड्स के सिलसिले में कहा जा सकता है कि उनकी डिमांड बहुत बढ़ती जाती है। अच्छी बात है, बुरी बात नहीं है। लेकिन उसके बढ़ने से उस वक़्त सवाल पेचीदा पैदा हो जाता है। और उस वक़्त फिर एक सप्लाई और डिमांड का रिश्ता बिगड़ जाता है। और उससे फिर आम जनता को तकलीफ़ हो सकती है। तो कुछ न कुछ इंतज़ाम करना पड़ता है बहुत कुछ कंट्रोल लाने पड़ते हैं। मजबूरी दर्जे लाने पड़ते हैं, यह नहीं कि कोई उससे खुश होता है।

तो यह इन सब सवालों को उसमें आप देखें। खाली आप यह देखें कि कोई यह सवाल था स्टेट ट्रेडिंग का गल्ले वगैरह के सिलसिले में। अब इसके खिलाफ़ यह आवाज़ उठी कि इससे बहुत सारे लोग बेरोज़गार हो जायेंगे। तो बेरोज़गार तो हम नहीं चाहते कोई हो। लेकिन यह आप याद रखें कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग या स्टेट कंट्रोल्ल्स फंड के मामलों में मामूली बात है। पूंजीवादी देशों में अक्सर काफी ज़ोरों से है। क्योंकि वो चीज़ और जब कभी एक ख़तरा आता है मुल्क के सामने- जैसे लड़ाई का ख़तरा तब तो मुल्क अपने को कस लेता है- कंट्रोल्ल्स से, सिर से पैर तक। क्योंकि ख़तरे का सामना करना है। उस वक़्त कोई ढील नहीं है। यह हालत हो जाती है। यह तो देखना होता है क्या वाक़या है, क्या ख़तरा है। जब आप एक समाज से दूसरे समाज में जायें। यानी एक, एक इंडस्ट्रियल स्ट्रक्चर से दूसरे में जायें। तो ज़ाहिर है कि उससे आरज़ी तौर से कुछ लोगों को नुक़सान होता है। हालांकि आख़िर में सभी को फ़ायदा होना चाहिए। जब आप एक टेक्स्टाइल मिल आपने खड़ी की, तो उसका नतीजे फ़ौरन हो सकते हैं कि बहुत सारे हैंडलूम वीवर बेरोज़गार हो जाएँ। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि आप पुराने टेक्नीक, पुराने मैथड्स को पकड़े रहें। लेकिन उसके माने वो होते हैं, एक तो यह कि जिस ढँग से आप नये टेक्नीक को करते हैं। वो इस ढँग से होना चाहिए, जिससे कम से कम तकलीफ़ हो समाज के किसी हिस्से को, नहीं तो आप कभी बदलें ही नहीं। आप उसी पुराने ढँग से रहें। तो मामूली बात है कहीं आपकी मोटर बस चलने लगती है शहर में वहाँ के तांगे वाले शिकायत करते हैं कि साहब यह तो हमारी रोज़ी जा रही है, मोटर बस आप नहीं आने दीजिए, ये तो आप नहीं रोक सकते। आप दुनिया की रफ़्तार को तो नहीं रोक सकते हर तरफ़ से। लेकिन हाँ, उस रफ़्तार को इस तरह से आप चला सकते हैं जिससे तकलीफ़ कम से कम हो और जल्दी से जल्दी बिल्कुल रफ़ा हो जाये।

एक और बात आप देखें यह रोज़गार और बेरोज़गारी का सवाल उठता है। और यह वहस कि नये टेक्नीक्स लगाने से नये तरीक़े चलाने से, नयी मशीन लगाने से बेरोज़गारी होती है। यह बहुत, यह बहुत सही है उस वक़्त के लिए सही है, लेकिन ठीक नहीं है यह बुनियादी तौर

से। और आप देखेंगे कि जिन मुल्कों में इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन ज़्यादा हुआ है, वहाँ उससे एम्पलायमेंट बढ़ा है घटा नहीं है। हाँ, कभी एम्पलायमेंट बदल गया है दूसरा ढँग हो। और आमतौर से करीब-करीब फुल एम्पलायमेंट तक वो पहुँच गये हैं। तो इसके माने नहीं है कि मशीन के आने से अनएम्पलायमेंट आखिर में बढ़ता है। अनएम्पलायमेंट बढ़ता है, बल्कि यह कि अब आप समाज का स्ट्रक्चर बदलेंगे तो उलट-पलट तो होता ही है। कुछ लोगों को परेशानी होती है, तकलीफ़ होती है। लेकिन मौके एम्पलायमेंट के बढ़ते जाते हैं। और कुछ दिन बाद वो सब उसमें आ जाते हैं। और यहाँ तक भी होता है कि कभी-कभी एम्पलायमेंट अपोर्चुनिटीज इतनी बढ़ जायें कि उतने लोग नहीं हों।

तो यह हम और आप सारा मुल्क इस वक़्त एक ज़माने में हैं। ऐसे ज़माने में जबकि कई बातें हो रही हैं। दुनिया का नक्शा आप देखें तो आप महसूस करेंगे कि कुछ ऐसी बातें हो रही हैं कि चाहे आप समझें या न समझें। जोकि एक बिल्कुल नये पर्दे उठायें। अब एक रूसी रॉकेट चाँद तक पहुँचता है उसके पीछे क्या है बात? उससे आपका आजकल हमारे इस वक़्त कोई रहन-सहन नहीं बदलता। लेकिन उसके माने यह है कि इंसान के हाथ में ऐसी शक्ति आयी है कि जो आज तक नहीं थी। आज रूस के हाथ में है, कल सारी दुनिया के हाथ में हो जायेगी। कुछ रोज़ बाद ऐसी चीज़ें दबती तो नहीं हैं, तो जब ऐसी शक्तियों का प्रयोग इंसान करने लगे तो दुनिया बदल जाती है। उसका असर आपके सारे समाज पे पड़ता है। उसका असर आपके आखिर में व्यापार पर पड़ता है। हर बात पर पड़ता है। बिजली आती है, बदल जाती है, बिजली से भी ज़्यादा शक्ति आयी वो बदलेगी।

तो पहली बात तो आप ये याद रखें कि आप एक क्रान्तिकारी, इंकलाबी दुनिया में हैं। असल क्रान्ति से मेरा मतलब लड़ाई झगड़ा लट्ठबाज़ी नहीं। लेकिन क्रान्ति से जिससे इंसान के हाथ में बिल्कुल नयी शक्तियाँ आ रही हैं और वो कहाँ से कहाँ दुनिया को ले जायें। और उससे असर सारे समाज के संगठन पर होता है। बल्कि यह विज्ञान तो इतनी दूर तक गया है कि मामूली आदमी को उसका समझना बहुत कठिन है। उसकी बोली भी कोई नहीं समझता। उसकी बोली आजकल एक, एक मैथमेटिकल्स बोली हो गयी है। शब्दों की मामूली नहीं है वो, मैथमेटिकल्स सिम्बल में साइंस आजकल बोलती है और बढ़ता जाता है। यह हो गयी है।

अभी दो-चार दिन की बात है। एक बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के वैज्ञानिक साइंटिस्ट बहुत पहुँचे हुए, एटोमिक थ्योरी वगैरह में वो बोल रहे थे कुछ विद्यार्थियों को, प्रोफेसर्स को। तो जो बातें उन्होंने कहीं वो मामूली साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी आप लोग, टेक्नॉलोजी को समझते हों। ग़ालेबन, टेक्नॉलोजी के पीछे जो साइंस है उसको आप बहुत कम समझते हों। जब तक कि आप खुद साइंटिस्ट न हो। जो बातें उन्होंने कहीं बिल्कुल वो महज़, वो साइंस कह रहे थे। एक शख्स ने कहा जो कि साइंटिस्ट था, बाद में कि जो बातें उन्होंने कहीं यह बहुत कुछ मिलती जुलती है शंकर की फ़िलासफी से। ख़याल कीजिए कहाँ के कहाँ पहुँचे शंकराचार्य के दर्शनशास्त्री, जो उन्होंने, वो कहने लगे यह उन्होंने साइंटिस्ट ने बातें कहीं। वो मिलती-जुलती हैं उससे। क्योंकि साइंस भी इस दर्जे में पहुँच गयी है कि वो टटोलती है दुनिया के किनारे और दिमागों के किनारे। और क्या-क्या चीज़ है क्या नहीं है? ख़ैर, एक तो आप याद रखें कैसे आप इंकलाबी क्रान्तिकारी ज़माने में हैं उधर से।

दूसरे यह जो नयी शक्तियाँ आती हैं उससे इंसान का रहन-सहन बदलता है, समाज का संगठन बदलता है। वो भी बदलता जाता है- उसका आप पर, हम पर असर पड़े जब तक। या तो हम कटे हुए रहें बिल्कुल दुनिया से, वो रह नहीं सकते, नामुमकिन है कैसे रहें? और महज़ कटे हुए नहीं, बल्कि कटे हुए भी फाँकेमस्ती में रहें, वो भी नहीं हो सकता। एक तो यह, दूसरे यह कि हम काफी वाक्यात से और अपनी कोशिशों से काफी हम बढ़े हैं- इस उद्योग की क्रान्ति, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की तरफ़। और किसी क़दर मज़बूत बुनियाद पड़ गयी है। काफी नहीं है, लेकिन फिर भी जो पड़ी है वो मज़बूत है। और हमारा पहला काम एक माने में हो जाता है कि उसको, उसको बढ़ा के ऐसा मज़बूत कर दें कि फिर हम अपनी ताक़त से आगे बढ़ सकें। यानी हम वो जो मैंने आपको खाने बताये थे- दूसरे खाने से तीसरे खाने में हम पहुँच जायें। जिसमें हमारा समाज टेक्नॉलोजी में और साइंस में पक्का हो जाये और फिर बढ़ सके। एक दफ़े वो हो जाता है फिर तरक्की का पेस की रफ़्तार तेज़ हो जाती है। इनमें से छोटी-मोटी बातें नहीं कह रहा हूँ। फर्ज़ कीजिए फॉरिन-एक्सचेंज के सवाल उठते हैं- आपके सामने, हमारे सामने। फॉरिन एक्सचेंज का सवाल उसी वक़्त हल होता है जब आप अपना यह बुनियादी उद्योग आपके यहाँ हो। चाहे वो आयरन स्टील का हो, और खासकर मशीन बिल्डिंग का हो। और मशीन बिल्डिंग से मतलब छोटी मशीन नहीं, आयरन स्टील प्लान्ट की मशीन यहाँ बने या और ऐसी बड़ी मशीन। तब, क्योंकि उस वक़्त तक यह हमेशा सवाल हमारे सामने रहेगा फॉरिन एक्सचेंज का- हम चाहते हैं इंडस्ट्री बढ़ाना। अगर हम मशीन नहीं बनाते तो बाहर से ख़रीद लायें, फ़ौरन फॉरिन एक्सचेंज आ गया। बड़ी मँहगी होती है वो। चाहे हम डिफेन्स के लिए लें, चाहे किसी के लिए लें। हम दब जाते हैं बाहर से इन चीज़ों के ख़रीदने में और महज़ पैसे का दबाव नहीं, बल्कि हम खुदमुख्तार नहीं होते। हम खुद पोलिटिक्स में भी दब सकते जो औरों के हाथ में लगाम है। चुनाँचे यह ज़रूरी हो जाता है किसी प्लानिंग के लिए भी- चाहे हम अपनी आज़ादी की तरफ़ देखें - बचाने के लिए या चाहे हम जल्दी से जल्दी इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन चलायें कि हम इस बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज उसको मज़बूत जमायें जल्दी से जल्दी।

यह प्लानिंग अब और इसके पहले भी एक और बातें होती हैं- वो हमारे एग्रीकल्चर की, हमारी खेती की, क्योंकि अगर खेती में काफी हम कामयाब नहीं होते और हम पैदा काफी नहीं करते, तो इंडस्ट्री नहीं बढ़ती, कोई शक़ नहीं। तो एक फाउन्डेशन है इंडस्ट्री के बढ़ने का हमारे मुल्क में- एग्रीकल्चर की कामयाबी। तो ये सब बातें बहुत आवश्यक हो जाती हैं। और एक माने में इन सवालों को आप देखें तो आप कहें कि हमें अपने मुल्क में पैदा करने के तरीके और पैदा करने के बाद, उसके बाद जो आते हैं वो तरीके, नयी दुनिया के करने हैं, मॉडर्नाइज़ करना है। चाहे खेती को मॉडर्नाइज़ करने के माने यह मैं नहीं कहता कि आप बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर और कम्बाइन्स हर जगह लगाएँ खेतों में। इस वक़्त मौज़ू नहीं है, कहीं लग जायें अच्छा है। लेकिन फिर भी मॉडर्न मैथड्स, मॉडर्न ट्रैण्ड्स खेती में करने हैं, इंडस्ट्री में करने हैं, हर बात में करने हैं, ग्रामोद्योग में करने हैं मॉडर्न टेक्नीक्स - नयी दुनिया में आने के लिए, नये फोर्सज़ इस्तेमाल करने के लिए, वो करने हैं तो यह सब बातें बुनियादी हो जाती हैं।

लेकिन फिर इसका एक दूसरा, तीसरा, चौथा पहलू है। जो कुछ कहिए उसे, कि इस ज़माने में जो हम कर रहे हैं तो उससे लाभ आम जनता को क्या होता है? उनसे हम कह दें

इससे लाभ तुम्हें होगा- दस बरस बाद। यह तो काफी नहीं है। वो नहीं मंजूर इसको करते। दबे हुए, परेशान लोग कैसे करें मंजूर? तो उसकी भी फ़िक्क़ करनी है। हालांकि उसकी फ़िक्क़ अगर हम ज़्यादा करें। और बातों की नहीं करें तो हम तरक्की नहीं करते। वो सरप्लस नहीं होता, इन्वेस्टमेंट के लिये। यह पेंच है। यह मैंने आपको कुछ बुनियादी बातें रखीं कि आप इधर ग़ौर करें। और इसपे ग़ौर करके फिर आप अपने असली सवालियों को देखें।

मैंने हैवी इंडस्ट्री का कहा। लेकिन चाहे लोगों के फ़ायदे के लिए आप कहें या हमारा प्रोडक्शन का - जो भी पहलू देखें। यह भी एक बिल्कुल ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि मिडिल इंडस्ट्री, स्मॉल इंडस्ट्री की तरक्की हो, और तेज़ी से तरक्की हो। और वो हो सकती है। यानी उसमें वो रुकावट नहीं है। जो अक्सर बहुत बुनियादी बातों में बहुत हैवी इंडस्ट्री में दिक्क़त हों, वो नहीं हैं। हमारे यहाँ काफी लोग हैं, ट्रेड आदमी भी हैं, और सीखे हुए आदमी जोकि इस और वैसे वो मशीन भी बना सकते हैं, छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज़ की या बनाने लगेंगे बहुत जल्दी। वो तेज़ी से फैले, और फैल भी रही है काफी अच्छी तरह से- पंजाब में, कुछ दक्षिण में। हम तो चाहते हैं कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में तेज़ी से फैले।

अब उसका फैलना भी आप एक व्यापारी दल के लोग हैं, उसके फैलने से भी, कुछ आपका ढ़ंग व्यापार का और काम का बदलेगा। क्योंकि वो नक्शा बदलता जाता है। यकीनन आप बदल देंगे मुझे उसमें कोई शक़ नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आपको दिखा रहा हूँ कि कैसे आजकल के ढ़ंग को आप चिपक नहीं सकते? किसी तरफ़ से देखिए बदलना आता है, चेंज आता है, क्रान्ति आती है, समाज की और बातों की। उसको आपको समझना है और जो नयी चीज़ें अच्छी तरफ़ मुल्क को ले जा रही हैं, उनकी मदद करनी है।

एक बात और कि आप, इसकी चर्चा हुई है खेती के सिलसिले में, सहकारी संघ का, कोऑपरेटिव्स का। जो कि दुनिया में हर खेती, खेतिहर मुल्क में होती है। यहाँ कुछ गुलशोर मचा। हालांकि किसी शास्त्र ने भी ज़रा भी विचार किया। चाहे हिन्दुस्तान में, चाहे किसी और देश में एक ही नतीजे पर पहुँचा है कि सिवाए कोऑपरेटिव्स के, हिन्दुस्तान के खेती का कोई फ़्यूचर नहीं है? यह कमीशन सन् 30, 32, 33, में एक क्या हुआ था? एक रॉयल कमीशन या क्या किया था अँग्रेज़ों के ज़माने में। अँग्रेज़ थे, उसमें हिन्दुस्तानी भी थे। पहला उसूल उन्होंने रखा कि बग़ैर कोऑपरेटिव्स के हिन्दुस्तान के एग्रीकल्चर का कोई भविष्य नहीं है²² वो उन्होंने असूल निश्चय किया और ताज्जुब होता है कि इस वक़््त गुलशोर मचे और एक अजीब बात कही जाये कि यह तो, हाँ अगर कोऑपरेटिव्स आयेंगे तो कोऑपरेटिव्स के आने के बाद फिर कहते भी हैं कि ज्वाइंट कल्टीवेशन, ज्वाइंट फार्मिंग मिलजुल कर खेती हो। ज़रूर हम कहते हैं और मेरी पक्की राय है कि आख़िर में यहाँ नहीं, और जगह भी, यह एक मुनासिब चीज़ है। लेकिन ये मुनासिब ज़भी होती है जब लोग उसके लिए ट्रेड हो जायें, उनके दिमाग़ हों, उनके हाथ-पैर हों, ट्रेनिंग हो। वो कोई नक़ली चीज़ें थोड़े ही हैं कि ऊपर से रख दी जायें, जब रज़ामंदी से ट्रेड होकर लोग आयें। वो है ख़ासकर ऐसे मुल्क में जैसे हिन्दुस्तान है, जहाँ कि आम होल्डिंग

लोगों की इतनी कमी है, एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़ होल्लिंग है उसमें तो आप मॉर्डनाइज़ नहीं कर सकते, जब तक कि ज़्यादा, लेकिन ज़मीन उनकी रहे उनको हिस्सा मिले, वगैरह, वगैरह। ख़ैर, और उनकी रज़ामंदी है। इस वक़्त हमारा प्रोग्राम सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स का है जिसमें तो कम से कम किसी को शिकायत ही नहीं होनी चाहिए। लेकिन यह कोऑपरेटिव महज़ एक ज़ाब्ता नहीं है आख़िर में यह कोऑपरेटिव सिस्टम एक दिमाग की चीज़ है। यानी लोगों के दिमाग उस बुनियादी असूल को पकड़ें।

हमने कॉंग्रेस में, आज नहीं बीस बरस हुए लिखा था कि हमारा लक्ष्य है कोऑपरेटिव कॉमनवैलथ- यह लिखा। उस वक़्त, मेरा ख़याल है करीब तीस बरस हुए या पच्चीस बरस हुए किया था। वहाँ जो हमने लिखा था कोऑपरेटिव उसके माने खाली एक सहकारी संघ नहीं था ज़्यादा बुनियादी बात थी। और आजकल की दुनिया में, यह बुनियादी बात ज़्यादा आती-जाती है, आपके इंडस्ट्री में आनी चाहिए, छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज़ में कोऑपरेटिव तरीक़े से चलायी जाये। जहाँ तक बन पड़े और स्टेट स्ट्रक्चर भी कोऑपरेटिव होता जाये। क्योंकि अलावा इसके कि आजकल जो मैंने आपको बताया, समाज बदलता जाता है- टेक्नॉलोजी की वजह से, साइंस से। इंसान इतने दुनिया में होते जाते हैं, इतनी भीड़ होती जाती है कि करवट लेना मुश्किल हो गया। कहीं टकरा जाते हैं और लोगों से, यह हालत है। ऐसी दुनिया में बगैर कोऑपरेटिव प्रिंसिपल के चल नहीं सकते आप, किसी काम में भी।

लोग कहते हैं रामराज्य हिन्दुस्तान में था जब सब लोग खुश थे। मैं मानने को तैयार हूँ खुश होंगे, खाना काफी मिलता होगा, कपड़े बनाते थे, खुद जैसे बनाये करघे चरखे। पर, और मामूली चीज़ें उनको मिलती थीं। लेकिन यह याद रखिए, हिसाब आप लगायें कि रामराज्य के वक़्त में हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी क्या होगी? ज़ाहिर है बहुत कम थी। यानी इस, इस पिछले सौ बरस में, सौ बरस से भी कम में दुगुनी हो गयी हिन्दुस्तान में आबादी। बीस करोड़ से चालीस करोड़ हो गयी है उसमें। तो अगर आप हज़ार दो हज़ार बरस पीछे जायें तो क्या आबादी होगी आप हिसाब लगायें? यानी जब इतने बड़े मुल्क में कम लोग रहते थे सारी ज़मीन खाली, समाज खाली, हर चीज़ खाली, तो उसमें दबाव नहीं था, खाने-पीने के मामले में। जो चाहे पैदा कर सकता है काफी, ज़रा मेहनत करके, तो हालत दूसरी थी। अब आजकल के ज़माने में इतनी भीड़ जब हो गयी है और बढ़ती जाती है भीड़, पैदाइश बहुत होती है। तो उसमें सवाल दूसरे होते हैं और अब आप पूरे आजकल के टेक्नॉलोजी से फ़ायदा नहीं उठाएँ और कोऑपरेटिव प्रिंसिपल से। तब आप सवाल आजकल के हल ही नहीं कर सकते। पुराने ज़माने के जवाब नहीं काफी।

तो मैंने तो आपके सामने आपके गौर करने के लिए कुछ बुनियादी बातें रखीं। ताकि आप उन पर विचार करें और समझने की कोशिश करें कि आजकल की इंकलाबी दुनिया क्या है? आजकल का इंकलाबी भारत क्या है? कैसे सवाल उठ रहे हैं और उसको कैसे हल करें? यह करें हम हल कि हम वहीं के वहीं रहें यह तो हल नहीं होता। वो, वाक़यात हमें ढकेल देंगे। शिकायत, आप शिकायत करें। एक आप बाहर निकलें और एक आँधी आये तो आप आँधी से नाराज़ हो जायें, तो आँधी नहीं रुक जाती। हाँ समझ के आँधी को, आँधी को क़ाबू में लायें या उससे फ़ायदा उठाएँ या आप ठोकर खाकर कहीं पत्थर पर गिर जायें। तो आप बहुत

अकलमंद नहीं हैं कि आप बैठकर पत्थर को कोसने लगें। अरे पत्थर था रास्ते में धोखा हो गया, हम ठोकर खाकर गिर गये। लेकिन हालत यही है अक्सर लोगों को इस क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया को कि आँधियों को, पत्थरों को बजाय समझें। उन्हें, बस उनसे नाराज़ हो जायें- आँधी से और पत्थर से। यह तो लाचारी है। आप प्रकृति से नाराज़ हो जाएँ तब प्रकृति तो नहीं बदलती। तो मैंने [...], आप माफ़ करेंगे। मैंने इधर-उधर की बातें आपसे कीं। लेकिन मैं चाहता था कुछ अपना दिमाग आपके सामने रखूँ।

[Translation begins:

Mr President,

The moment I reached here, I was ordered to stand up and say something. As I was coming here, I tried to rapidly glance over the proceedings of the last two days and the speeches that were made here. Being in the habit of reading fast, I was able to see most of it. I saw that you have expressed complaints regarding the government's policies in your speeches. It is right that you should express your grievances and a way has to be found to rectify them, if they are justified. There is special mention of the fact that there are far too many taxes and controls. Now, I cannot go into the details and nor will it be proper for me to say anything publicly about this. It is true that the level of taxation in India is very high as also that there are controls in many areas. But as to how far it is possible to relax them is a matter to be examined properly.

Normally speaking, controls are not something which anyone likes. Controls are imposed, rightly or wrongly, only when there is some compulsion. The best economy is one in which there are least controls. But it is equally obvious to me that the state of our economy is such that controls become essential. For instance, prices of foodgrains are rising and sometimes they soar absurdly. It imposes a tremendous burden on the common people. What is the government to do in such a situation? Can it be ignored hoping that it will level off somewhere? I feel that some arrangements need to be made where essential consumer goods are concerned. It is not possible to allow one section of society to profit at the expense of the people. I think it is right in principle that when there is a shortage of essential commodities, some people should not be allowed to profit by it while the others suffer as a consequence. It is possible that you are looking at it from your own point of view. But if you look at the entire picture, it is possible that you may be able to see the other side of the coin too.

Anyhow, I do not think it is proper to philosophise about such issues. The only test is what benefits the common people, reduces the burden on them and leads to our goals in the shortest possible time. The moment we start a debate on the larger issues and policies and fundamental ideology, we tend to get lost

in words. Generally speaking, though the tendency is becoming less now, so far whenever we have considered the state of the Indian economy from the economist's point of view, it has been through Western or Russian eyes. What I mean is that our thinking has been moulded by books written by Americans, the British or Russians with the conditions in their own countries in mind. It is obvious that it makes a difference. Gradually, economists have begun to realise that the problems which arise in a country like India, which is in a sense an underdeveloped economy, are different from those of the economies of the technologically developed countries. Therefore, it is not right to apply the same yardsticks to India which apply to the United States or England or, in a different way, to the Soviet Union. We can certainly learn from the example of the United States, England, France, the Soviet Union and Germany, and so on; but, ultimately, the problems which we face in India are of a different kind. That applies to all underdeveloped countries like Pakistan, Indonesia or other Asian countries. They are somewhat different from those of the developed economies like England or the United States. We can learn from their experience in the past as well as the present. Anyhow, our economists have now begun to realise that they need a fresh approach to India's problems and that the old norms of economics, more relevant to the West, cannot be applied here.

Take communism, for instance. First of all, to assume that something is bad or stupid is not the right way to examine any issue. It is important to understand even the useless things if they have an impact on the world, and if so, why and what their underlying philosophy is. But it is absurd to dismiss some thing which has a hold over one-third of the world as useless. It may be true to say that in our view it is wrong. But the strange thing is that the philosophy of communism was expounded more than a hundred years ago by a scholar who made a study of the conditions prevailing in England around the time of the Industrial Revolution. He drew certain conclusions from the conditions in nineteenth century England. It is a different matter whether his conclusions were right or wrong. But he based his conclusions upon the situation in England about a hundred and fifty years ago. So, it does not seem quite right that they should be applied to some other country 150 years later. Marx was a great intellectual and we can learn a great deal from him. But we must always remember the basic fact that his conclusions were based on the conditions which prevailed in England at the beginning of a new era, the age of the Industrial Revolution, which spread to the rest of the world later and transformed it. Now, to say that they should be applied in their entirety somewhere else 125 years later seems obviously wrong. Some of the conclusions may still be applicable; but the world has changed a great deal in the last 125 years.

Secondly, it seems strange to assume that what was relevant to England or

to Western Europe would be relevant 125 years later to the countries of Asia. The other aspect of this is that the economists in England, France, Germany, United States, and others, before and after Marx, based their studies on the conditions prevailing in those countries in the nineteenth century, that is, at a time when industrialisation was spreading. Their conclusions are also noteworthy and we can learn from them. But they pertain to an era which has passed. They are not relevant to the new era, and even in those countries conditions have changed. India, of course, does not fit in at all.

What I mean is that the mind has not kept pace with the changing times. Take any field. Take, for instance, the art of warfare. It is quite a well known fact that officers are first taught about the strategies used in the past. With the changing nature of weapons, the entire system of warfare has changed. But, generally, the training starts with conventional weapons. Therefore, very few officers at the top are able to cope at the beginning of a war. During the last World War, most of the top generals were replaced within the first six or eight months because, though they were excellent officers, times had changed and so had the method of warfare. Their thinking was outdated. Younger generals took over and fought.

We are living in an era of rapid changes. All kinds of new forces have been generated by the Industrial Revolution, the electrical revolution and the atomic revolution. Man has acquired new sources of energy from nature which have transformed his entire way of life. In India, the industrial revolution began, in a sense, with the coming of the railways and the setting up of some factories. It is obvious that the government of those times suppressed these efforts towards industrialisation.

Anyhow, the world has changed more rapidly in the last 100 to 150 years than it has done in the last thousands of years. You can take any example. I mentioned the railways. The means of travel and communication had remained practically unchanged for thousands of years. Then suddenly, the railways, wireless, telephone, aeroplanes, electric railways, electricity, and so on, appeared on the scene. Now we are in the jet age with a radar system, and man is thinking of space travel and what not. All this will obviously have a tremendous impact on man's life. Man has learnt to recognise all kinds of new forces of nature and now, suddenly, the world faces a great dilemma of whether these forces will lead to its destruction or benefit mankind. It is obvious that when the world has been transformed beyond recognition, it should be obvious that our method of working must also change with the times. But the human mind does not change easily, for it is shackled by lessons learnt in the past, and old habits die hard. Until forced to do so, the mind is unwilling to change, and by then, other events overtake them.

If you go to a country like the United States, you will come across a society which has changed very rapidly and each individual there feels that he must progress on his own steam and change the world. Their thinking is capable of grasping the changing times and of changing with them. They are constantly moving and, rightly or wrongly, their minds are not static. This applies to some extent to the whole world. I gave the example of the United States because their minds are very dynamic. In the more traditional societies like India or other eastern countries, which continue to believe in old traditions and customs, the minds are more static, though there are certain advantages in that. Though many of you must be using modern conveniences like the motor car, if it were to stall somewhere, you will be able to do nothing if you do not know something of motor mechanism. A few may understand it, but most people would have to ask for someone's help; a mechanic would have to be called, even if it is only a small screw that needs to be tightened. In the United States, even a child would be able to do it because their minds are trained in this way. It is not so here. You will forgive me if I say that we have entered into the industrial age in an artificial way. You travel by train, but you have no idea about how the train works. If you had to make a railway engine, what would you do? You would employ good engineers to do it and the result would probably be good. But you would be none the wiser about how it is done. We are caught up in a traditional society. You can see innumerable examples of how we are trying to industrialise ourselves rapidly and succeeding in it, and yet there are innumerable areas in which our thinking is completely outdated and has no relevance to modern times. This is the dilemma of a traditional society which is trying to modernise itself. Until science and technology find a firm foothold in the country, everything else is superficial, which may be of some good but not as much as it should. The question is one of fundamentals. All other issues are superficial even if they are important.

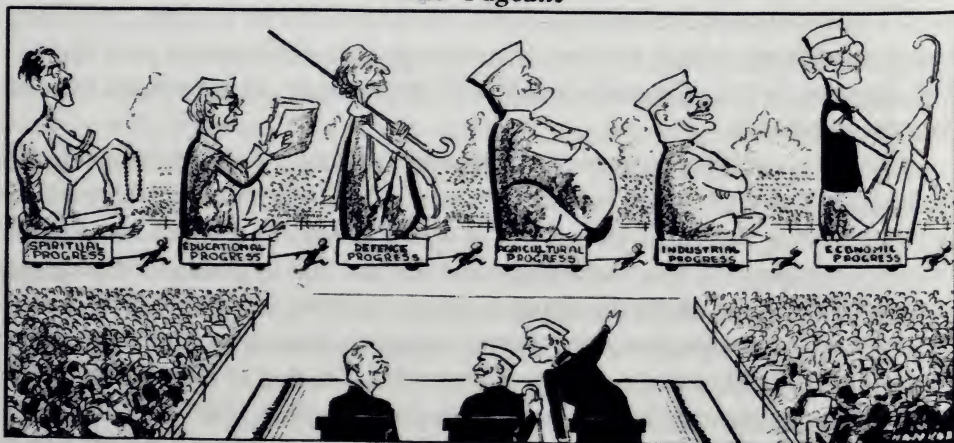
Recently, a scholar had given a lecture in England, I think at Cambridge.²³ He had divided society into four or five parts. One is traditional society which has come down the ages; the second is traditional society which has started feeling the impact of new technology and science and is gradually changing; the third is the stage where the changes are so tremendous that they keep going on their own momentum; the fourth stage is one in which society is technologically fully mature, and the fifth is what is known as high consumption society. A high consumption society is only possible when it is technologically so advanced that production is unlimited. In the world of today, there is no society which can be called hundred percent traditional because every society

23. See fn 20 in this section.

has been feeling the impact of technology, though it may be in varying degrees. There are some countries, like most of the European nations, the United States of America and the Soviet Union and some other countries here and there, which can be called technologically mature nations, and are on the threshold of becoming high consumption societies. The United States of America is leading in this and the others are following suit. Where is India in this? We are considered to be on the second or the beginning of the third rung. There has been an impact of technology on our society and we have laid the foundation of industries to a large extent. But we have not reached a stage in industrialisation where it can progress on its own momentum. We are advancing and, in a sense, quite rapidly; but we have a long way to go yet and it is difficult to say when we will arrive. Most of the countries in Asia are in this category. But which of them can be regarded as being in the previous stage or the one after? Perhaps, at the moment there are three or four nations which have reached the end of stage two and can now graduate to stage three. Japan is of course quite advanced and has graduated to stage three, that of the technologically mature category, nearly thirty or forty years ago. Now there are two Asian countries which are trying to get into it and succeeding to some extent. Those are India and China. Most of the European countries are far advanced. One or two of the South American countries are also trying to get into stage three.

So, the question before us is how to reach that stage quickly? Our progress has been quite remarkable. Let me tell you that recently a foreigner, a very able scholar and expert, has pointed out that compared to whatever little progress

The Pageant



[Above from left: G.L. Nanda; K.L. Shrimali; V.K.K. Menon; S.K. Patil; L.B. Shastri; Morarji Desai • Below from left: K.E. Voroshilov; Rajendra Prasad; Nehru]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 26 JANUARY 1960)

there was in India in the last two hundred years, the changes in the last ten to twelve years have been astounding. He has said that it is sheer greed to want more instead of finding reassurance in the fact that we are making good progress.²⁴ He said this jokingly, but there was a strain of truth in it. There is no doubt about it that we have made a great deal of progress in the last ten to twelve years. It has unfortunately not had the kind of impact on the lives of the common people as we would have wished it to. There has been some impact, and consumption has gone up. But most of the levels of society have not felt its impact to the some extent and it is essential that they should.

So we are at this stage in India at the moment. First of all, let me repeat what I said earlier, that we have to try and understand our problems from this point of view and realise that we cannot go by what happens in the Soviet Union, the United States or Europe. We must learn from all of them, but we cannot take any of them as a model. Secondly, we must realise that if we wish to advance like the United States, the Soviet Union or the European countries, then the basic foundations for it are science and technology. We will have to advance in these two areas and produce eminent scientists in our own country. We cannot advance by bringing in scientists and engineers and experts from outside. That can only bring about some superficial changes.

Now, how are we to do this rapidly? Apart from the fact that we want to increase the pace of progress, we are also compelled by circumstances to do so. Let me draw your attention to something else. In England and the European countries and the United States, economic progress began with the Industrial Revolution, before they had attained full political freedom. That did not mean that they were under foreign rule. They were already free but that freedom was controlled by a handful of men. One test of it was the people who elected the Parliament there. It was the aristocracy and consisted of a handful of men. They were an independent nation and were called democratic, but very few people had votes. It was only in the twentieth century, after the First World War, that franchise became more widespread. Thus, they had a hundred years when, though political freedom was limited, there was economic progress. Full political freedom came after economic progress. Political freedom implies demands of various kinds. They got 100 years in which to consolidate their economic progress before the demands became strident and when ultimately there was wider political freedom, they were fully equipped to meet the demands of the masses because production had gone up. In India, we got hundred per cent political freedom before the Industrial Revolution started here; before the economic structure became strong and so we were surrounded by demands

24. See fn 21 in this section.

from all sides. It is not that the demands were unjustified; but we did not have the wherewithal to accede to those demands because our economic structure is just beginning to expand. This is the dilemma that India and many other countries, placed in a similar situation, are facing because political freedom has preceded economic expansion. This leads to all kinds of social problems which is why we cannot compare conditions in India to that of England, France, Germany or the United States. This is something that you should understand. Political freedom has awakened political consciousness and we were bombarded with demands which we could not fulfil because the country was not economically advanced. So, this is another reason why we cannot easily afford any delay in solving these problems. We have to solve them quickly, as delay will lead to all kinds of social upsets. I have tried to present a broad picture before you.

All this has no direct relevance to the issues that you have raised. But I want you to look at the larger context that I have pointed out. The conclusion to be drawn is that we need to utilise the resources at our disposal effectively in order to obtain quick results. First of all, we want to increase production in the country. The wealth of a country does not mean gold or silver. The real wealth of a country consists of goods produced from land or industries or whatever means possible. Secondly, the wealth thus produced must be equitably distributed. That does not mean that it can be distributed with a pair of weighing scales. What it implies is that disparities should be reduced. Wide disparity between the haves and the have-nots will no longer be tolerated in the world. We may be able to go along for a few days, but the entire trend is against this, as you know, whether you call it socialism or something else.

Now, take the United States of America, which is regarded as the biggest capitalist country in the world today. If you examine their system carefully, you will find that they claim with pride that the most ordinary of their human beings can aspire to the highest office in the land, that of the President of the United States. That is, there is an equality of opportunity for all. They also claim to have a welfare state where there is no poverty in the real sense of the term. It is true that the standard of living of the average man there is very high. I want you to note that the things that the socialists used to advocate fifty years ago are being followed by the capitalists in the United States today. There is no doubt about it that times have changed.

Secondly, you have mentioned the impropriety of having too many controls in India. But when I was talking to some American economists, they say that there are more controls in the United States, which is a capitalist country, compared to what we have in India. Society has become such a complex organisation today that there is no way of escaping some form of controls.

Even in a country where there is laissez-faire and production is so high, controls are essential. It is obvious that in an economy where there are shortages, the matter is much more complex. Leave aside principles; it has to be done; for there is no other way to counteract the social upsets due to the political consciousness of the people. You must keep these factors before you. It is not a matter of some intellectual philosophy or of something that we like to do. It is a question of compulsion of realities and something that enables us to reach our goal with the minimum burden cast on the common people. I have drawn a broad picture, whether you call it planning or whatever else.

You complain that you face obstructions. I will not go into the details. The general principle should be, whether regarding business or otherwise, that obstructions should be as few as possible and that too when absolutely necessary. Controls are not imposed as a matter of course. They are imposed because they are necessary and the results of not doing so are bad. There is a great deal of injustice, and social upsets occur. Therefore, controls become necessary in these circumstances, in every country, in varying degrees. They become even more necessary when a country faces shortages of essential commodities.

Why do such shortages occur? Take food for instance. If you go by the production figures in India in the past, we are producing a great deal. But the old yardsticks are changing because the numbers of mouths to be fed are increasing. It is a good thing that people are eating more and are better off. Now they eat wheat and rice instead of jowar, and hence the shortage. So, these are signs of progress. In a sense, it can be said about practically all consumer goods that the demand is going up, which is a good thing. But this increase in demand creates its own complications because it disturbs the balance between supply and demand. So the common people face difficulties. Therefore, some arrangements have to be made by bringing in controls almost compulsorily and not because we want to do it.

So, you must look at all these problems from this point of view. There was a problem about state trading because people thought it would lead to unemployment. Now, we naturally do not want that. But you must remember that state trading or State Controls Fund is pretty common among the capitalist countries. Especially, when some danger threatens, a country has to tighten its belt and impose controls in order to face the crisis. In a crisis there can be no slackness. After all, we must appreciate what the circumstances and the dangers are.

When a society moves from one structure to the other and becomes industrialised, it is obvious that some people are bound to suffer temporarily, though ultimately everyone should benefit. When a textile mill is put up, the immediate consequence is that many handloom weavers become unemployed.

That does not mean that we should hold on to old, outdated techniques and methods. But it has two implications. One is that the manner of transition should be such as to be least painful to any section of society; otherwise the society can never change and we will continue to remain where we were. It is a common thing that when buses are introduced in a city, immediately the tongawallas complain that their livelihood is being snatched away. But you cannot stop the process of modernisation. However, it is possible to minimise the disruption that could take place by the changes.

Secondly, the argument that unemployment occurs by adopting new techniques or using machines may be right temporarily. But it is not a fundamentally sound argument. You will find that employment had increased in the countries where the industrial revolution has taken place. It has not decreased. Yes, it is possible that the avenues of employment may have changed. But, generally speaking, they have reached a point of almost full employment. So, it does not mean that machines increase unemployment. A little upheaval is inevitable when the structure of society is changed, and some people are bound to suffer. But the opportunities for employment keep increasing and everyone benefits ultimately. Sometimes employment opportunities may increase so much that there may not be enough people to avail of them.

We are passing through critical times in India and changes are taking place everywhere. If you look at the map of the world, you will realise that some events are occurring which, whether you are aware of it or not, are raising new curtains. What happens when a Soviet rocket reaches the moon? It may not have a direct impact on our way of life immediately. But it implies that Man would have acquired a power which he did not hitherto possess. Other countries will follow suit and soon the whole world would have learnt the technique. Such things cannot remain a secret. When such forces begin to be used, the world is transformed and there is an impact on the entire society. Ultimately it affects trade, electricity and everything else.

So, first of all, you must remember that we are living in a revolutionary world. By that I do not mean violence or fighting. The revolution is in Man acquiring new sources of power; and nobody knows where they will lead. They have an impact on the entire social structure. In fact, science has advanced so far that an ordinary man would find it difficult to understand. The language of modern science has become tough and mathematical. Science is taught and learnt through mathematical symbols.

Recently a great scientist addressing a group of students and professors about atomic theory and so on, remarked that very few people understand the scientific and the technological advance that is taking place in the world. Only a few scientists can understand it. Later on, an individual who was himself a

scientist commented that whatever was said in the lecture was very similar to Shankar's philosophy. Science has today reached such a high level of complexity that like philosophy it is also probing to try to find the meaning of existence and life.

Well, anyhow, you must remember that we are living in a revolutionary era. Secondly, the new forces that are appearing in the world are changing the entire pattern of life and the social organisation. It will undoubtedly have an impact on us unless we choose to cut ourselves off from the world, which is simply not possible. If we try to do so, we will continue to wallow in dire poverty. That is not possible. Secondly, we are advancing rapidly, due to a combination of events and our own efforts in that direction, towards an industrial revolution and laying the foundations for it. What we have achieved so far is not enough, but the foundation that we are laying is pretty strong. Therefore, in a sense, our first step is to become so strong that we can advance on our own. If we go from stage two to three and achieve a firm base in science and technology, we can go ahead. Once that happens, the pace of progress becomes really fast.

I am not referring to the smaller things. Take for instance the problem of foreign exchange. It can be solved only when basic industries come up, whether it is the production of iron and steel or machine-building industries—I do not mean small machines but the heavy machinery required in an iron and steel plant. Until we start making such machines ourselves, the problem of foreign exchange will remain; we will keep buying the machines from outside and pay a heavy price for them, whether it is for defence or something. It is a crushing burden to buy these things from outside, not only in terms of money but also because we can never become totally independent. Even politically, we can be crushed if the reins are in the hands of others. Therefore, whichever way you look at it, whether we wish to preserve our freedom or bring about an industrial revolution, it is essential in any kind of plan that we do to lay the firm foundations of the basic industries.

There is yet another aspect which requires careful planning, and that is agriculture. Until we succeed in becoming self-sufficient in food and produce enough, industries cannot grow. There is no doubt about it. The foundation of industrial growth depends on the success of agriculture. So, all these things are very essential. In a sense, you can say that we have to modernise the method of production and distribution in the country. By modernisation I do not mean that you should have big tractors or combines everywhere. That is not possible at the moment as a general proposition. Yet, we must use modern implements and tools in agriculture and adopt modern techniques in industry. We will have to use new forces in order to get into the new world. So, these are some of the basic requirements.

But there are some other aspects to this question. How far does the common man benefit from all this? It is not enough to tell him that the benefits will accrue after ten to twelve years. How can a people who are crushed by hardships accept this? We must take care of this aspect also, though not at the expense of progress because then there will be no surplus for investment. This is the problem. I have placed a few basic things before you for your consideration so that you can look at the other problems from this over-all point of view.

I mentioned heavy industries. From whichever angle you may look at it, whether it is the benefit to the people or a question of production, it is equally essential for small and middle industries to progress, and quickly at that. It is possible, for there are no insurmountable difficulties in the way, as there are in heavy industries. We have enough trained and skilled human beings who can easily produce the machines necessary to set up small industries. We want this to spread fast all over the country, as is happening in the Punjab and the South.

You belong to the community of traders. I would like to tell you that with the spread of small industries the pattern of trade is bound to change. I have no doubt about it that you will be able to change with the times but I want to point out why it is not possible to stay in the old ruts. Whichever way you look at it, change is inevitable, for the society is undergoing a revolution which you should try to understand and help to bring about the changes which are leading the country in a new direction.

There has been a great deal of talk about agricultural cooperatives which have become so common in the rest of the world. Has any individual ever paused to consider, in India or anywhere else, that there is no future for agriculture except through cooperatives? The Royal Commission of 1930 or 1933 in which there were Indians as well as British had laid down, as a principle, that Indian agriculture had no future except through cooperatives.²⁵ It is strange that this should create so much confusion now. At the same time people want joint cultivation too. We would certainly like that and I am fully convinced that ultimately that is the only way. But it is possible only when people are trained for it mentally and physically. It is not something that can be imposed from above. In a country like India where the land-holdings are, by and large, so small that no modernisation is possible, joint cultivation is the obvious solution. Anyhow, that will come later and with the consent of the people. At the moment our programme is confined to service cooperatives, with which there should be no quarrel. But cooperatives are something much more—it is our attitude of the mind which the people should be able to grasp.

25. See fn 22 in this section.

More than twenty years ago, we had adopted the Cooperative Commonwealth as our goal in the Congress. We meant not merely a system of cooperatives, but something much more fundamental. In this changing world of ours it is absolutely essential that the cooperative method should be followed in industries, agriculture and, in fact, as far as possible even in the state structure. Apart from the fact that society is changing very fast due to scientific and technological advance, the population in the world is growing so fast that it is becoming increasingly difficult to go our own ways. In such a situation, we can achieve nothing without the principle of cooperation.

Some believe in the Ram Rajya of ancient times when everyone was happy. I am prepared to allow that that is possible and all necessities must have been available in plenty. But what do you think was the population of India then? It was obviously very little. In the last 100 years or less the population of India has doubled. It has become forty crores. You can calculate what the position must have been two thousand years ago. When there was plenty of land and less people, there was no pressure. Everything was plentiful. Today there is a great deal of production but the population has grown too. Therefore, other factors enter into it. Unless we take full advantage of the technological advance and follow the cooperative principle, we cannot hope to solve the problems of today. The old solutions are no longer enough.

I have put some of my thoughts before you to ponder over and to understand the revolutionary world that we live in. What are the problems that are rearing their heads in India and how are we to solve them? Surely, not by stagnating! The force of circumstances will topple us in that case. If you go out into a storm, it will not stop because you refuse to face it. You will have to face the storm and bring it under control or turn it to your advantage. If you happen to stumble against a stone, it will not be very wise to blame the stone. There are bound to be various kinds of obstacles in the way which will have to be overcome. Unfortunately, the reaction of most people to the revolutionary changes taking place today is senseless anger. Nature will not change because you are angry with it.

Please forgive me. I have been rambling. But I wanted to share some of my thoughts with you.

Translation ends.]

(c) Press Conferences

6. In New Delhi²⁶

Subjects suggested for discussion: Latest note from China; Proposal to set up a high-powered Tribunal

Prime Minister: Where?

Correspondent: The proposal to set up a tribunal for cases of abuse of position by people in high authority.

Government's agricultural policy.

Discussions relating to the Third Plan.

Mr Khrushchev's proposed visit to India.

Your call to scientists to work in India and the cause of the suicide case reported in Pusa Institute.

Student unrest in universities.

The Naga situation.

The situation in Laos.

The Ginger Group's thesis.

Prime Minister: I haven't read it. That means no disrespect to it but I have had no time.

Your talks with President Eisenhower with reference to Kashmir and Goa.
President Eisenhower's state of the Union message.

Prime Minister: What am I to say about President Eisenhower's message.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the Summit Conference to follow.

Prime Minister: I suppose we have got enough subjects to deal with. I hope you would be good enough now, in asking me questions, to mention your name and paper.

26. 8 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in file No. 43(73)/60-PMS, JN Collection and PIB files.

CHINA

Prime Minister: Well, first somebody said China. You have all seen the long note from China which was received by us some days ago.²⁷ That has been under study because it is an argumentative note and we shall naturally send an answer to it in due time. There is no need for me to say much more on this subject. So far as our case is concerned, our views on the subject are well-known to you.

Question: This latest note seems to show no meeting ground or even less meeting ground than there seemed to be earlier. Does that mean that the only step, as Mr. Chou En-lai says, is the matter be taken up at the highest level since there is no other common meeting ground for any persons of official status to talk and come to some understanding about it?

Prime Minister: Yes, there is a very big gap between the position taken up by India and that taken up by China, and there does not appear to be any meeting ground. For the present we shall naturally send an answer to this letter. As to what other developments might take place in future, we shall have to decide then and can't lay down a detailed plan for the future; it depends on developments. It is true that official communications in the very nature of things put a country's case at a high level. Shall we go on to the next subject?

Question: On a prior occasion, both in Parliament and here, you said that the country's frontiers are not negotiable. Is that still our stand?

Prime Minister: That is our stand. At the same time there is nothing that is not negotiable—which seems to be contradictory. What I said was there is no question of negotiation or bargaining about these matters, but it is a somewhat different matter dealing with them as we are in our letters or in our talks. One can't refuse to talk, refuse to as between two countries.

A Correspondent: Do you not envisage a danger that if this correspondence is protracted, certain validity will be attached to Chinese claims to Indian territory? It is like you owing me money and, if we both go on corresponding,

27. On 26 December 1959, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China to the Embassy of India in China, see Appendix 1.

the public will think you do owe me money when you don't. The more this correspondence is going on, sir, surely the world will think that China has a case which she has not got.

Prime Minister: Well, it is not so much a question of correspondence, but of certain developments which have taken place. One can never—I won't say "never", it is rather a difficult word to use—but in dealing with countries, between governments, one does not shut the door to a letter or to other communications.

Question: What is the position of the 1954 Agreement with China on Tibet²⁸ since the autonomy of Tibet has been completely violated? What is the position now?

Prime Minister: The Agreement broadly exists. It is under that Agreement that we are in Tibet. If we said that it is no longer accepted by us, and all kinds of changes follow, so far as we are concerned. Of course, it has not, in some ways, been fully acted upon. That is true.

A Correspondent: One aspect of the Chinese latest note is they refer to the 1954 Agreement as mainly one of trade between the Tibet region of China and India. In that context the Preamble has to be read more in regard to the implementation of the Trade Agreement.

Prime Minister: Well, that is an advice to me, not a question.

Question: What is the Chinese position in regard to that?

Prime Minister: Obviously the positions they have taken up in many matters are not agreed to by us.

Question: Do you project a meeting between yourself and Chou En-lai at some date near enough?

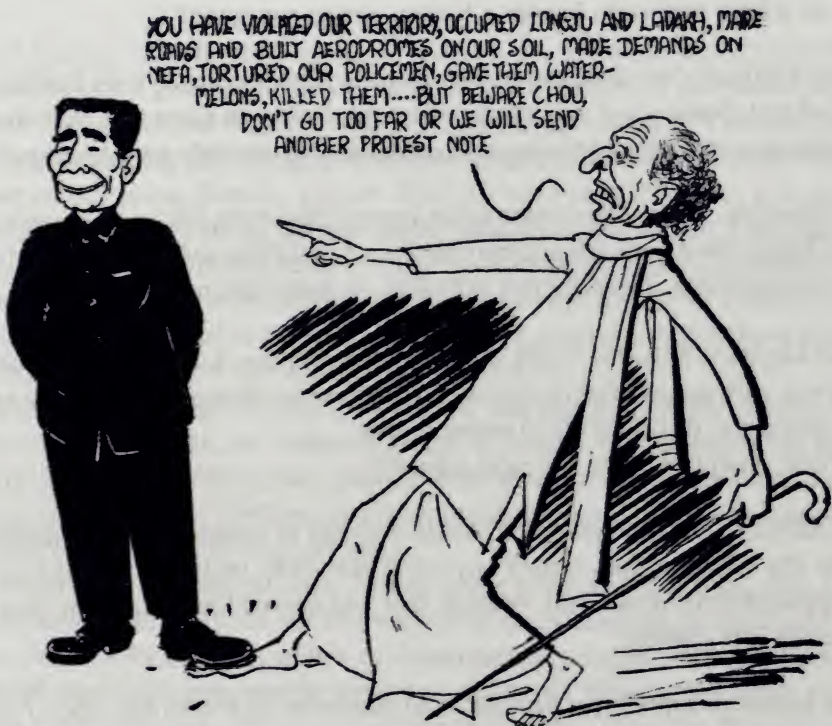
Prime Minister: I am not projecting the meeting at present but I cannot rule it out. It depends on circumstances because as I said, we do not, I hope, act in terms of closing any doors which would help. So I don't rule it out at all, but at the present moment that is not in view.

28. See SWJN/SS/25/pp. 468-469.

Question: Would you clarify for us just exactly what are your conditions for meeting with Mr Chou En-lai and do they include the removal of all Chinese troops from traditional Indian territory?

Prime Minister: All of you must have seen our last letter or note to the Chinese Government so far as it stands; but I don't think it will be proper for me to lay down conditions, one, two, three, four, this must be done; this kind of thing. When two countries take up those rigid attitudes, then any question of considering matter becomes difficult. All kinds of things happen. National prestige is involved, apart from other things.

Question: Does it follow that you would be prepared to meet Mr Chou En-lai unconditionally?



Mr. Krishna Menon said India would not permit violations of its borders, its national integrity and dignity.

[From left: Chou En-lai; V.K. Krishna Menon]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 3 JANUARY 1960)

Prime Minister: It means, first of all, that I am prepared to meet anybody in the wide world, there is nobody whom I am not prepared to meet. That is number one. The second is, one wants to meet people when one thinks that the meeting will produce results, good results, and not bad results. These are the two main considerations. One does not rush to a meeting simply because a meeting is talked about. A meeting may be mistimed, misjudged, therefore, produce bad results. On the other hand, if there is any chance of a good result, a meeting should be agreed to.

So, it is difficult for me to say precisely when, where, under what conditions, a meeting might take place, but I cannot rule it out. It may well take place, but as I said, there is no talk about it at the present moment and there is no proposal to that effect, that is, specific proposal.

Question: Has there been any exchange of views with Pakistan and Burma on whose territories similar Chinese claims are made?

Prime Minister: No, there have been no talks with Burma or with Pakistan on this subject. Some years ago, three years ago, there was some talk with Burma, but that was something relating to boundaries, not directly on this subject.

Question: There have been some reports that even during the winter the Chinese have been advancing further in Aksai Chin and consolidating their position there. Have we any information about this matter?

Prime Minister: I should doubt any advancing further, but I cannot say about, what you call, consolidating the position in the area occupied. That may be so, here and there. It is difficult to estimate that.

Now, shall I go on to the next subject?

Question: Just one last point. Would you like to comment on one statement in the Chinese note which says that the 1842 treaty on Ladakh is not applicable to Aksai Chin, because that was part of Sinkiang at the time the treaty was signed?

Prime Minister: I think it is best for us to comment on that in our reply. It is no good my saying "yes" or "no" to that. These are geographical, historical, other factors which should be dealt with at that level.

HIGH POWERED TRIBUNAL

Now, the next subject was "high-powered tribunal". I take it that reference is

made to the proposal that some kind of a tribunal should be set up which should invite, receive and deal with charges against Ministers, high officials and the like.

A question of this kind was put to me in Parliament, whether we were thinking of appointing some such tribunal and I said "no", we were not thinking.²⁹ We continue to be of the same opinion. We have given a great deal of thought to this matter, naturally when a proposal like this is made by an eminent person, but I have quite failed to understand how not only in India but in any country in the world such a tribunal can function. I am not aware of any example of this. There have been tribunals, of course, at times of upheavals and revolutionary upsets in a country, purges, and these have taken place. That of course, that apart, but in the normal administration of a country, I am not aware of any instance anywhere, now or earlier, of such a tribunal.

Question: Pakistan had one – the PRODA Act.³⁰

Prime Minister: I know that Pakistan had it. I do not think that Pakistan in many matters is a good example for us. It is very difficult for me, and it is not right for me, to discuss the affairs in a friendly country. But it is obvious that our ways of thinking and acting, political, economic and social, are all different, in spite of our being friends, I hope. With all respect to Pakistan, it is not a constitutional country in the normal sense. That is not a criticism, I am merely stating a fact. So that, much can be done there, there are no kind of constitutional or other limitations or restrictions. If you analyse this matter, in Pakistan, for instance, there was martial law and a variation of martial law. All those things come under very special circumstances that arise.

Now, there are the normal procedures, the normal courts, the normal provisions for enquiries, etc., wherever found necessary. Our difficulty has often been, in dealing with these cases, that these normal procedures are rather slow-moving, and the type of evidence required, under the law, and, rightly I suppose, is so stiff that it becomes very difficult.

I might tell you that we have formed some years ago a special, very high level section, Special Police for this very purpose of carrying on enquiries and proceedings either in courts of law or departmentally as the case was. This has produced quite adequate results; some are sent to the Press, and I rather regret that the Press does not give enough publicity to them. They put them in some

29. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 111-113, 437-439.

30. The Public and Representative Office Disqualification Act (PRODA), 1949.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

corner, figures etc. I have seen that, although I suppose that one of the reasons why the Press does that is that so far as I know, I am not sure, names are not given, cases are given without names. The personal element is not present.

Question: There is another reason also. The note given on the subject relates to so many peons and so many daftries removed, but, there is no mention of any person in huge authority. So we do not take any serious notice of that.

Prime Minister: I really do not know what kind of note has been given to you, but I have not come across, in the last two years, a single peon being mentioned in the lists.

Question: Those cases are covered by the Press individually when they come up in the courts. Six months afterwards the Special Police Establishment gives a consolidated list of the totality of the cases disposed of.

Prime Minister: Not six months, every month.

Question: Even every month, Sir, as and when they come up in the courts and conviction takes place or acquittal takes place they are reported by the Press.

Prime Minister: Perhaps you are right, but you do not get a picture. For instance, I get a report every month from the Special Police Establishment, and it is a bulky report of eight or nine foolscap pages, typed pages, of enquiries made, cases instituted, convictions, acquittals, enquiry proceedings, cases proceeding, and, in some cases, departmental enquiries proceeding, departmental action taken and the question of peons is not even reported to me. I suppose peons may be involved.

Question: If the figures of Class I, Class II, Class III and Class IV, officers are given, only then we could take this subject in a scientific manner. Otherwise it is all a guess work.

Prime Minister: I cannot obviously give a figure offhand—I am still proceeding, if you will permit me.

But, action has been taken from the topmost officers downwards. Naturally, the topmost officers are few. It is obvious. But Secretaries to Government—

one or two have been involved, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, high-grade engineers, middle-grade engineers, railways officials. I think that the largest number of cases that come up before us are from the Railways and, to some extent, from the PWD.

Another thing, many years ago—and often later—I have repeated that I shall gladly receive any complaints or charges and enquire into them, first some kind of a preliminary enquiry into them if there was any substance in them, and if there was any substance then a serious, full enquiry. I receive a fair number of these, often anonymous, sometimes with names, etc. In every single case that I receive, I have a preliminary enquiry made, and if there is any substance, the enquiry is more serious, and at a later stage, we have a full blooded enquiry and start judicial proceedings. It is happening.

Now my experience of these cases are that a large proportion of those charges that are made and come to me have practically no basis or there is a flimsy basis. They come from all over—I am not talking about the Central Government, but about the whole of India, the rival groups going for each other, complaining against each other. Somebody has been passed over in promotion, immediately he makes charges against his superior officer of nepotism, bribery, corruption and what not. It has, indeed, rather shocked me how easily people make these charges, sometimes honestly, nevertheless, without the slightest enquiry, and how easily people begin talking about them. When an enquiry is made, sometimes there is found no basis at all. Somebody has started the story and it goes round. Someone said some years back—am sorry to say that it was a foreigner; what his name is, I forget—that almost one of the biggest industries in India is to make charges against each other. I think there is a good deal of truth in that. That someone further added—he was talking about our Services here; he was talking rather naturally of the senior Services here, he was not talking about petty clerks and peons—added that he had found after many months' stay here—he was examining this problem—that the standards in India were higher than in most countries and that were among the highest in the world, among the top few highest in the world, among the higher services. I, with all such experience as I have gathered, think his judgment was correct.

I get these charges. I don't naturally say that there are no cases of corruption; there are plenty, but comparatively speaking, our Services, our senior Services are good. I am not for the moment talking about the lowest grade of clerks in the Railways, broadly speaking, our Services are run on decent and honest lines. One thing we feel—I am not talking of the Services so much, but broadly a form of caste nepotism, that is, promoting one's own caste people is visible in India, everywhere to some extent. It is very difficult to catch it, very difficult to deal with it. But it is so, one tends to push one's castemen to some extent,

partly, of course because one knows them better than the others, I suppose, but it is that.

I think that it is of the utmost importance that in our public life, naturally, public life including Governmental activities as well as non-governmental activities, a continuous and strenuous attempt should be made at maintaining high standards and at fighting corruption and nepotism wherever they exist. The subject has been constantly before us, whether in Government or whether, let us say, in the Congress. Sometimes it has happened, it does happen, that cases occur which are distressing. I don't pretend to say that either the Government or the Congress is free from blame. Of course, not. But there is this constant struggle going on, a struggle, I think, which gains, which makes progress.

I am really astonished at the number of cases we have enquired into, serious charges made, and almost no scrap of proof forthcoming. Such reports, bazaar reports that one person repeats to the other, and sometimes makes a statement in the Press too—some people make them. It is quite astonishing how easily our people go in for this kind of gossip and naturally, having this experience, I have become a little chary of accepting every charge without some kind of proof.

And naturally, I think, while it is my duty or my Government's duty to carry on a campaign against corruption and lack of integrity, it is equally our duty, I think, to give protection to people who are constantly being pursued unfairly and wrongly by these charges. It is becoming very difficult in public life today for any sensitive person to function—only rough and hardened persons like me carry on because of the ease and facility with which charges are thrown about, of the worst type. None of us are angels, I suppose, but we have not come into public life all these years for the normal material advantages that it might bring. It has always seemed to me curious and rather surprising that anyone should imagine that people in the top ranks of public life, whether in Government or elsewhere, how they like being there, because it is a continuous and daily and painful ordeal.

So, the point before us is how we can deal with these cases of corruption and take action. The proposal to have this kind of high-powered tribunal, seems to me, that it would, if I may put it rather as an extreme case, make it almost impossible for a Government to be carried on in the sense that all public mind and activity there is the tribunal sitting and writing charges and charges being made right and left. No doubt, ultimately the tribunal may decide that many charges are wrong, maybe, naturally, but the whole atmosphere of the country will be of charge and counter-charge; and I doubt if any single person in authority whether Minister or high official, will escape that, because there are always people whether we promote anybody or dismiss anybody or whether we take

any action, somebody is angry. The mind of the country and the Press of the country will be dealing with these matters, these charges and counter-charges. Really extraordinary. You might soon pack up the five-year plan, how do you do any substantial work? We are a gossipy people. I think it will create quite an odd situation. That is my difficulty.

As it is, I think—I do not know of course, I can't speak of other countries with any deep knowledge but I imagine that we deal with these matters in India more effectively than most countries do. The example of Pakistan I do not wish to deal with because that is not the normal way of a country functioning, the dictatorial way and the martial law way. Yes, it is a way, if you think by that way corruption stops, you are welcome to that opinion; I do not think so. It does not appear on the scene. Nobody dare talk about it, nobody dare write about it. No doubt, it is punished but it simply disappears, in the sense that, if it is done, it is underground and public mention of it is not made.

Now, when this question of a public tribunal, this high-powered tribunal, was made, naturally I said that I shall immediately take up any case that is presented to me. Later it was said that this cannot be done till a tribunal was put up and till some kind of security is promised to the man who gives information, to the informant. I replied that naturally one would like to give security but I said, "I do not want the name of any informant, I do not want who the informant may be. I only want some kind of clue as to what the case is, what am I to enquire because it is very difficult." We send for the senior people in the police who deal with this. I said, "Can you find out?" They said, "How are we to find out unless some clue is given, not the informant's name, because otherwise we can't just look for a thing all over this country." That has been my difficulty.

I am convinced in my mind that this talk of this tribunal has not been perhaps considered in this aspect which I have put before you. I can understand the desire to deal with these things, I have no doubt and I am very anxious to do so. First of all you can take my opinion for what it is worth, that India is freer from corruption than the great majority of countries that I know of in the public services, except in the lowest grades. I speak with some experience. Your experience may be greater, I think that what is said about it so much here, in the Press and elsewhere, gives a somewhat exaggerated picture. Not that it does not exist, naturally one cannot deny that and should be dealt with hard.

One difficulty of course we have, as I had pointed out, in going to law courts is with the type of evidence required, because a law court cannot punish a man because it has moral convictions that he is guilty. He is punished on strict legal evidence and legal evidence in these matters is not pretty easy to get always. Our rules again for the protection of our Services are so strict that you can't deal with a peon or anybody without the most laborious processes. If he

commits a crime, of course you deal with him, but say, sheer inefficiency, one can't deal with a person easily. You may not promote him, and not give him a prized post but it is very difficult to deal with.

That problem, I may say is coming up before us in a totally different context, in the context of our speeding up our work. I should go on if you like to that matter. But whatever it may be, whether it is the Five Year Plan, development schemes, defence needs and all that, the question of our procedures comes up before us, because the procedures are slow moving. That is, as I said somewhere the other day, it is not the fault of the structure of Government as a whole, but rather the procedures which make it, which almost, you might say, are meant to delay; they are not meant to delay, of course, but they are meant to have as perfect a system of checks and counter-checks as possible. The result is that the thing is not done or done so late that it loses part of its value and speed is the most important thing, and speed is the most important thing in checking corruption. It is delay that gives opportunities to people.

Question: The main question did not relate to Government officials who may be covered by the special Police Establishment but it particularly refers to Ministers and Judges or other people in high authority who are generally not dealt with by the Special Police Establishment. As you have said, so many complaints have come to you, you are so kind and honest a person that you cannot see any dishonesty elsewhere and that it becomes very difficult to get any charge substantiated before you. That is the impression people have. You think everybody is of the same standard as you are.

Prime Minister: Am I to judge my own qualifications now? [Laughter]. I am prepared to a very very limited extent to accept that indictment of me. I do not start with the presumption that a person is a scoundrel but, I hope, I am not so gullible either as to accept everything that is said to me. I find there is far too much gullibility about. We all agree, of course, that we must make every effort. Our friend there said something about tribunal for Judges, Ministers and the like.

A little later, I suppose it might be said that these tribunal people are not quite straight and we must have a more superior tribunal for them. You see, there is no limit to it. Just like, in a dictatorial establishment, or in a country there is a secret police. There is another police to look after the secret police. There is a third police to look after that; there is no end to it. In law, there is an ending to a dispute somewhere. The court ends it. There is an appeal, the High Court, the Supreme Court—you must accept somewhere some end to that, somebody's judgement. If you do not accept anything the whole thing goes to pieces.

You appoint a government, and you have various means of checking—whether it is Parliament or the public. Do you realise that at the present moment in India how a Minister, specially, functions not only in the public eye, but before millions of public eyes all the time – with opponents, political opponents, private opponents, everybody all round him eager to find out the slightest error that he might commit—whether in Parliament or State Assembly or generally the Press. It is very likely, of course, that somebody may get away with it, how can I say he can't, but the amount of public gaze—and not too friendly gaze that is upon him—from his opposition parties or opponents is tremendous.

We talk about Pakistan. Just remember in what context people function here—these million eyes looking and trying to find fault. It is not easy to get away with it. Somebody might. That is the biggest test in a democracy—all these questions being asked in Parliament or Assembly and everywhere and the Press—I do not object to it, I am merely pointing out—exposures and all that. But if you think that you should put a tribunal after tribunal, it obviously means that nobody can function.

Our difficulty at the present moment, I might tell you, is this. It is in a different context that I say—and this also is sometimes said in the Press—that our officers are rather reluctant to assume responsibility because they say if “we do it, if something slightly goes wrong, there will be questions in Parliament, this that and the other. Why should we assume responsibility.” Well, the thing is not done. It is a bad thing where this kind of thing comes up. A very senior officer came to me with a big scheme. I thought it was a good scheme. He said, “I am ninety per cent sure that this will give very good results. Ten per cent I am not sure.” He said: “How dare I go ahead with this if the ten per cent comes off, then I am doomed.” I said to him, “Go ahead, I will stand by you. Even if the whole scheme goes wrong. Because it is a good scheme, it is a worthwhile scheme and I trust you.” These problems are coming day by day. Our officers are afraid of doing something. They will be pulled up somewhere. Sometimes, of course, a wrong officer may take advantage of it. But the whole atmosphere is created that nobody wants to take responsibility. And it is only whether in war or peace, it is that person who takes responsibility and dares something who gets things done. We are producing an atmosphere of mutual recrimination, condemnation, suspicion, pulling each other down. It comes in the way of almost anything that can be done with effectiveness.

Question: We understand that recently in the Congress Working Committee the subject was broadly discussed.³¹ Do you think there is any more effective

31. In New Delhi, 30- 31 December 1959.

way of dealing with charges relating to Ministers because there is the impression that because of local political exigencies a certain action is not taken which might otherwise be warranted?

Prime Minister: Well, I might tell you that a certain report that appeared in the Press about the Congress Working Committee deliberations was, broadly speaking, completely upside down. The impression that one got from it was rather the reverse of what happened. We naturally discussed this matter broadly and we came to the conclusion, first of all, that this kind of a tribunal was a totally unworkable proposition. Well, if you want the country's work to be done with any speed or with any thoroughness, have such methods as you like, but this kind of thing putting up one tribunal or another.

The other thing was that we have dealt with quite a number of cases of Ministers in the past—it is the Congress Working Committee I am talking about—and sometimes we have mildly censured them. Once or twice we asked them to resign and they resigned. Now, it does seem to me that certainly steps should be taken, but an equally serious thing is that charges are constantly being hurled at Ministers, constant criticism and constant publicity, ninety per cent completely unjustified, without the slightest foundation. It is a matter for us to consider, and as I said, it is difficult for a sensitive man to put up with this situation.

I am not for a moment suggesting that a Minister should be protected even though he is an evil-doer. That would be utterly and absolutely wrong. But I do put it to you that a Minister, or any person in public life who is high up, has opponents who want to push him out. Politics, election politics and all this, is not a pleasant game. It is perfectly true. Many of the aspects of democracy which we praise so much are not at all pleasant, including elections. The lowest in an election campaigning, I remember reading long ago, when I was a student in England, an analysis of elections—how the lowest passions of man come up in election time—we are talking of British elections—and how a person does many things which he will never do in normal life. But in elections he is somehow swept into doing things which he otherwise might consider dishonourable. And all these things happen. These are problems of public life, a democratic life, just as you have the problems of an authoritarian life and dictatorship life. All these things are difficult.

I have also found that the person who shouts the loudest against these evils has not got clean hands himself. It is a kind of "stop thief" cry. It happens. So, all these are difficult things, and it may of course be that, in a balance of circumstances, which include doubt about something, one gives the benefit of a doubt. But I am quite clear that where there has been clearness in our minds

about something wrong being done, we have taken action.

Question: I am afraid you are a little uncharitable to the public. The public does not do it every time. Only when Ministers by reputation become corrupt, then charges are made and then people find nothing happens.

Prime Minister: What is the public? The public includes you and me and all of us. I am not referring to any particular individuals. These are normal happenings in most countries, more or less. It is. But when you say a person is corrupt, we immediately enquire. But if we do not get adequate proof, what are we to do? Either we take action on strong suspicions—we may do that, of course, and it is a possibility—or one cannot take any action or one warns or the mere fact of going into the matter is in itself a warning.

These are the difficulties. I do not pretend to say that we succeed always in doing things because that really involves not a question of public life but private life and the whole structure of our society and all that. One tries to raise that up.

THIRD PLAN

Let us briefly deal with some other subjects. You asked me about the Third Plan. In the last four days and previously—in the past six days—we have been meeting almost daily in the Cabinet and considering these broad approaches to our Five Year Plan, how far they are to be varied because of new developments and the question of our defence and all that in connection with that.

Now, I have been wondering how to evolve some method of keeping the public, and naturally the Press, informed of our progressive thinking on these matters. Because I feel that it is not fair for the Planning Commission or the Government to throw a fat volume suddenly at the public and call it a Draft Five Year Plan. Nobody can easily digest it and nobody realises the years of thinking and discussion that have gone behind it. They think that it is something suddenly written out. Now how can we, to some extent, not wholly of course, keep the public informed of our thinking and on what lines? Because I find often in the newspaper criticism that they are not informed of our thinking. The criticism is about something which we are not doing or we are not thinking of. Of course one may differ and one does differ. I hope that we shall be able to evolve some method.

Question: Often tit-bits are given to the Press without any context.

Prime Minister: The business of Planning now is a fairly well known business,

the technique of it, I mean. It was not previously so, and it is a technique which, in its different contexts, is applied or sought to be applied everywhere. If we send for two or three eminent American professors, we discuss these things with them. It does not make very much difference to our plan or to their consideration of our Plan that they come from a country like America which has a system of highly developed private enterprise, capitalism, etc. We find no difficulty and they find no difficulty in discussing these matters and advising us, just as when we send for somebody from the Soviet Union, we get on very well—not that we agree with everything that these people say, but it is astonishing how far the American experts and the Soviet experts, forgetting their ideologies but looking at things in India as they are, objectively, how their advice tends to be similar. It is very extraordinary, because they are not dealing with abstract problems. They are just like an engineer advising on a bridge, on making a bridge. He is an engineer, above all. A planner is a planner above all. Of course, they do not always agree, I do not say that, but it is quite astonishing what the degree of agreement is when you are dealing with a specific problem.

Planning has tended to become, more and more of a, not an exact science, but nevertheless a science, a procedure which is more and more precise. One has always to make big decisions and one of the biggest decisions a country has to make is, how far you can carry a people with you, especially a democratic.

It is a very big decision. But ultimately it is the people's work that will achieve results, not decisions of the Planning Commission. If I talk of agriculture as we all do so much, in the ultimate analysis, it is the individual farmer whose work and whose response will make all the difference, in spite of all that we may do. It is an obvious thing one has to judge the response of the public. One has to try to create it, one has to see how far a burden the public can bear, because the more we work, the more burden we will bear, the more we produce results.

In the final analysis, planning means investment for progress. Investment means savings, savings or credits or loans or gifts, whatever they may be, it means that. It means higher production, of course, out of that all this comes. When we talk of savings, nobody thinks in terms of asking the poor, the great majority of the population in India, whose standards of life are so low to save. How can we ask them to save? But those who can save do so, and should save. When we talk about austerity—austerity means two things, more than two things, perhaps. First, that obvious waste should be avoided. There is plenty of waste, of course, now, as you know, in the city of Delhi—I don't know, you must know better—whether it is restaurants, or hotels and other places. There is plenty of waste, unnecessary. There should be avoidance of waste as far as possible in our private lives, avoidance of waste and habits of waste, even in

the case of the poor. In Rajasthan they have passed a law or they are going to pass a law. In Rajasthan there has been a practice that when somebody dies, his family people have to give a feast to all the village, to the whole clan. It just kills that man. The survivors die because of having to feed the others. It is extraordinary – “Mritya Bhoj” or whatever it is called. By law they are prohibiting it. The result is the people are happy, because otherwise the custom forced them to do it and now they have the support of the law not to do it and they do not do it gladly. (We mean austerity) in that sense. Of course, it would be wrong to talk of austerity for the people who all their lives and for generations have been austere. It is ridiculous! They want some of the good things of life. The whole object of planning ultimately is to give the good things of life to people.

For the rest, planning as I said, is more or less scientific. One thing leads to another. It is not vaguely doing odd jobs. That is what I want to put across to the public, every month or whatever period may be. I would certainly suggest that to the Planning Commission.

The danger, of course, is that we produce lots and lots of papers for consideration and if they are all published, it might probably produce a great deal of confusion in people's minds—some of them are highly technical papers; some of them are not in line with each other. Naturally, they are all for consideration. But something should be done, I agree.

It is nearly an hour and I must go through the other points.

MR KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT

Someone asked about Mr Khrushchev coming to India. Well, I cannot say for certain yet; except that when I heard that Mr Khrushchev was going to Indonesia and presumably he would have to pass through India, cross India or fly over India if he went to Indonesia, so I suggested to him, “As you are coming this way, we shall be very happy if you broke journey in India. This would enable us to meet and have talks and other things.” To that I have not received a final reply yet. But the provisional reply indicated that this might happen. He might be able to come. I cannot be certain yet. It is for them to decide, but I hope he will be able to stay here.³²

32. Khrushchev arrived in New Delhi on 11 February 1960.

SCIENTISTS

Someone referred to what I said about scientists in Bombay³³ and the case of a suicide which I read in today's papers, I think. I know nothing about this particular case and I am very distressed about it. I cannot naturally say anything without knowing the facts of this case, but from what it appears in the papers today, it is very distressing.³⁴

I am not criticising the Indian scientists who are abroad. It will be unfair of me to criticise them. They function, I suppose, as many normal human beings might function, but I should like them to be not so normal but a little abnormal, in the right direction. It is obvious that a scientist although he has more openings in India than ever before and he will get more openings, still he can get even better openings elsewhere, in some countries. And it may sometimes be that in order to return to India involves some sacrifice by him. Still I would like him to come.

Question: When you have made the suggestion, Sir will it not be better that Government of India get a scheme for the scientists who come rather than they leave their jobs to come to India, write to the UPSC and get a refusal. This is the fate of many people who came from outside and they do not get adequate jobs.

Prime Minister: I think you are partly right. It has happened. Because of that we have created a certain pool where anybody with certain qualifications can join till some post is available.

LAOS

Prime Minister: Somebody asked me about Laos. I have nothing to say about Laos. There it is, changes have taken place there. It is rather a confusing situation.

NAGAS

Question: What is the progress since this recent Mokokchung Convention?³⁵ Have you received the resolution officially and what are you going to do about them?

33. At the 47th session of the Indian Science Congress at Bombay on 3 January 1960. See item 102.

34. See items 49-50.

35. 22-26 October 1959. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 272-273.

Prime Minister: No, we have not officially received them, though unofficially of course they were sent to us. The representatives of that Convention have been seeing the Governor, I believe. Anyhow, they are themselves not ready to approach us formally. They are dealing with the Government apparatus locally and among themselves. Of course, when they want to approach us, we shall gladly see them.

Question: Are you meeting them in Shillong next week?

Prime Minister: There is no talk of it, it is not included in my programme, I rather doubt it. I shall be at Shillong for four or five hours only.³⁶

TALKS WITH MR. EISENHOWER

Somebody asked whether I talked to President Eisenhower about Goa and Kashmir. In the sense of casual narratives these subjects were referred to, not specifically discussed, but in the course of talks about many matters there was reference to Goa and there was reference to Kashmir.³⁷

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

A Correspondent: Agricultural Policy.

Prime Minister: That is one subject about which a great deal is talked about. That does not lack talk. Agricultural policy is more production, obviously basic, how is more production to be brought about. More production is brought about according to our thinking, by land reforms as a base, secondly, by certain methods which are well known. There is no secret about those methods. Wherever those methods have been followed, hard work, the results have been good. We need not go into these methods; they are simple. That is, we have to get out of our traditional way of doing things and adopt more modern methods to put it broadly.

By more modern methods I am not meaning that everybody should have a tractor. Tractors may be used where feasible but I don't think they are feasible

36. On 9-10 January 1960 Nehru went to the North East to inaugurate the construction work on the Barapari Hydro-Electric Project and the rail and road bridge across the Brahmaputra. See also items 28 and 29.

37. Dwight D. Eisenhower, arrived in New Delhi on 9 December 1959. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 378-399.

at the present moment on a mass scale in India. The people are too many. I have nothing against the tractor but you have to balance the people, the ratio of the land to the people. If we can withdraw large numbers of people from agriculture into industry, there will be more room for tractors. Meanwhile we can use tractors where we can. We can have special farms. But I do want our farmers to have better ploughs. It is most important, I think. A good plough is not expensive. You can get fair ploughs for about thirty, forty, fifty rupees, at the most seventy rupees or thereabout and I think that an effort should be made to replace every old plough in India by a modern plough and facilities should be offered to the farmers to get that plough on credit, if you like; they can pay for it after the harvest on hire-purchase system or whatever you like. The community development movement should do it, the panchayat should do it, because immediately a better plough produces results forthwith. The present old plough might have been used 500 years ago or 1000 years ago, still persists, scratching the surface of the soil. The moment you go deeper down, you produce results. Not only ploughs but simple agricultural implements, each one of them costing little, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five rupees, something like that, thirty rupees. I am not talking about combines and all that. Those combines and big tractors may be used where feasible. That is a different matter. But I don't think that on a big scale that is feasible in India because of the human factor. That is one thing.

The other things are simple things again, water, I mean, water channels being made in the villages. Water is flowing there, there are no proper channels, bunding to prevent water flowing away, good seeds, fertilisers, good manure, compost. In a word what is required is good husbandry. You can see that at a glance, as I have seen, two peasants, next to each other, one producing three and four times of what his neighbour is producing. It is astonishing, by good husbandry, by good care, one peasant producing about ten maunds of wheat per acre and his neighbour producing forty maunds of wheat per acre. It is extraordinary. May be the ground is a little better, I do not know, but it is hard work, good husbandry, and that we think can best be brought about, in Indian circumstances especially, but anywhere, by cooperative methods. Therefore, cooperation becomes essential. It is a basis of all agriculture anywhere. It is only backward forms of agriculture that have done without cooperation.

Question: You have perhaps read an article in a recent issue of the *New Statesman*, by Mr Dumont on "agricultural defeat" in India.³⁸ Would you care to comment?

38. On 19 December 1959. For details see SWJN/SS/55/pp. 180.

Prime Minister: There is a report of that UN Commission and Mr Dumont was a member of that Commission. I think, with all respect to Mr Dumont, that he has taken an unnecessarily pessimistic view of the situation. Many of the things he has said, or indeed all he has said, has truth in it, but all the truth put together of what he has said is only part of the truth; it is a limited truth. There are other factors, balancing factors. Therefore, I think, it is an exaggerated and a pessimistic view.

Nevertheless, I am glad of that article because it points out our errors, mistakes and all that. I think the position is not all so bad as he points out. We are making good.

In the final analysis it is the individual farmer and the peasant who count and I think the farmer and the peasant are changing and that is the biggest change that is happening in India. In the last month or two, there has hardly been a day when I have not had three hundred, four hundred farmers, upto one thousand farmers, in my house every morning. Of course, this is happening much more now because of this Exhibition here. They come here or they are brought here, to see the Exhibition and all of them consider me as an exhibit also and come to see me [Laughter]. I have talks with them, discuss with them, and I find quite a different type, urge and vitality in them; that effects me more than merely statistical figures. I see the human element changing. I think that the future for agriculture in India is a pretty good one. I am not apprehensive but I realise that it requires hard work.

Really, I have got to go in two and a half minutes.

Question: Dr Deshmukh³⁹ has said that land obtained as a result of fixation of ceilings, the surplus lands, should be given not to the landless but to those who have uneconomic holdings. Does this represent his personal view or the Government thinking on this subject?

Prime Minister: My dear Sir, that is exactly what we decided a year or two ago. It is not a question of personal view or any view; if you look at the Planning Commission's report. I would not say that what we decided was precisely what Dr Deshmukh has said but, more or less that was decided.

Question: Dr. Deshmukh, the Agriculture Minister in your Government, is advocating what you have decided against in Nagpur.⁴⁰

39. Panjabrao Deshmukh, the Union Minister of State for Agriculture.

40. On the Nagpur Resolution, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-74.

Prime Minister: It is very wrong of him to do that [Laughter]. About the particular point you have raised, we did decide, I remember, that the excess land which we get can be used in two or three ways. One is to raise the uneconomic holdings to a certain level, the other is to give it to landless people and the third is to have cooperative farming. It depends upon the circumstances but the particular thing that Dr Deshmukh has said is among the things that should be done. I don't think that Dr Deshmukh has been saying anything directly against the Nagpur Resolution. At least, I am not aware. He is laying stress on some other aspects, I believe.

Question: Have your discussions about the Third Plan during the last week, which you mentioned earlier, led to any variation in the Plan on account of defence?

Prime Minister: It has led naturally to the conclusion that defence requirements, even more than anything else, require heavy industries and so greater stress on heavy industries. We were laying stress on that to begin with too, and we come back with double force with it.

Question: What part of the Plan will be smaller if heavy industry is proportionately bigger?

Prime Minister: Every portion will be bigger.

Question: Regarding the outlay, is the figure of Rs 10,000 crore accepted as the basis on which you will start? Even the Second Plan had projected it and placed it at Rs 9,900 crore.

Prime Minister: I am not going to discuss figures, because we have not finalised any thing, but my own broad impression is that the people who at one time advocated caution about figures etc. have been driven right away from the field and they are hiding themselves. Nobody says that now. Everybody, so far as I know, from different points of view have come to the conclusion that the Plan has to be a big one. To what extent, it is a different matter.

I really must go now. Thank you.

7. In Bangalore: To Mysore State Journalists' Association⁴¹

INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN NEHRU REITERATES PLEA FOR "NO WAR" PACT

Prime Minister Nehru reiterated here today the need for a "no war" pact between Pakistan and India. The conclusion of such a pact would create the atmosphere in which it would be easy to solve any problem and remove tension, he added.

Mr. Nehru, who returned to Bangalore this evening after a flying visit to Kerala, was addressing Pressmen tonight at a function held under the auspices of the Mysore State Journalists' Association in Bangalore Palace under their programme "Meet the Press."

Asked to state his assessment of the prospects of the United Front in Kerala in the forthcoming elections, Mr. Nehru said that he was told that the United Front was hopeful of success with a good majority.

Mr. Nehru, who looked tired after fulfilling a number of engagements in Kerala, answered questions ranging from his impressions of the Congress session which ended here last evening to the forthcoming visit of Mr. Khrushchev to Delhi on his way to Indonesia.

Mr. Nehru said that the Bangalore session of the Congress was a "good, working session, businesslike session."

When his attention was drawn by a reporter to the prevalence of "large-scale corruption in the country" Mr. Nehru said he did not accept the fact that there was large-scale corruption. It was more or less an exaggerated statement. He did not think that there was corruption in the higher grades to a large extent. In the lower ranks, like Railway clerks, booking offices, grant of licences, etc., there was great deal of corruption though even here it was less than what it was before. "When we talk of corruption, it refers to higher grades. We fight it with some success. I get monthly reports from the Special Police Establishment dealing with this."

Mr. Nehru was surprised at seeing about 100 journalists gathered at the Tennis Pavilion in the Bangalore Palace.

Seeing a woman journalist from Bombay in the gathering, Mr. Nehru pointedly asked: "You are not a Mysore journalist."

Mr. Nehru answered a number of questions and one or two persons who asked some objectionable questions were promptly told, "It is not a fair question to ask."

41. Report of address to the press, Bangalore, 18 January 1960. From *The Hindu*, 19 January 1960.

Mr. Seetharama Sastri, President of the Association, welcoming the Prime Minister, said that Mr. Nehru symbolised "utter fearlessness and zest for life." Mr. Nehru said that occasionally he exhibited zest for life, but "at the present moment, I do not exhibit that. I am rather tired and sleepy."

MYSORE-BOMBAY BORDER

One Pressman drew the attention of the Prime Minister to the border issues between Mysore and Bombay and said that the people had been agitating peacefully for four long years.⁴²

Another journalist intervening asked whether the questioner was speaking for himself.

Mr. Nehru said, "He is thinking for himself. Probably, the Mysore journalists will not be in wholehearted agreement with him."

Mr. Nehru said, "It is a matter which has distressed many of us greatly. I am not going into the right or wrong. I have no right. The point is that such a question has been pending and we have not been able to come to a satisfactory settlement. There is a proposal for reference of this question, not in the sense of arbitration, to persons nominated by the two Governments. I am not quite sure in what form."

When one journalist said that the question of Belgaum had been decided by the States Reorganisation Commission, Mr. Nehru said that at the time of the last elections, there was a reference to this matter and it was accepted that it could be considered again.

INDIAN PRESS

When Mr. Nehru was asked what his opinion was about the Indian Press generally, he said that the Indian Press was broadly speaking as good as in most other countries. It was difficult to compare these things, he added.

Mr. Nehru was asked whether he did not think priority should be given to the Railway expansion schemes in Mysore State, such as the linking up of Hassan with Mangalore, and Bangalore with Salem. Mr. Nehru said that obviously development of railways was helpful. When one talked of priority, they had to consider so many things. Expansion of railways was a very expensive business. They had to consider whether it was good for Mysore to have a fertilizer factory or a new railway link.

42. See SWJN/SS/57/pp. 110-111.

AGREEMENTS ON BORDER DISPUTES

Mr. Nehru welcomed everything that happened to promote good relations between India and Pakistan, "as it improved the atmosphere and helps the solution of any remaining problems." He was commenting on the recent agreements on border disputes between India and Pakistan⁴³ and on the chances of a settlement of the Kashmir problem.

Mr. Nehru pointed out in this connection that many years ago, he had suggested to the Pakistan Government to make what was called a "no war declaration" to the effect that they would not have any of their controversies and difficulties resolved through war. Unfortunately, the Pakistan Prime Minister and the Pakistan Government did not accept it. Obviously, problems would not be solved by that declaration itself. "But that creates an atmosphere in which it becomes easier to solve any problem and remove tension", he said.

COMMON DEFENCE

A Pressman asked Mr. Nehru's reaction to the remark made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari that Gandhiji had approved of the suggestion to have a common defence arrangement with Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru said he did not know when Gandhiji approved it, on what ground and what was the position then. He thought it was long before partition (Laughter). He quickly added, what he meant was that Gandhiji might have said it before the partition was actually completed and while partition was being talked about. After that, he thought, there was no chance of saying it.

Mr. Nehru said that soon after partition, there came the invasion from Pakistan of Kashmir. They were all exercised about it for a variety of reasons, as any invasion had got to disturb them. Even more than that, while they were talking so much about non-violence, the thought of taking military action upset their minds. He remembered his having gone to Mahatma Gandhi with a certain amount of distress. Gandhiji told him that "in the circumstances, it is your duty to fight and you cannot leave Kashmir undefended."

KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT TO INDIA

A journalist asked the Prime Minister whether the forthcoming visit of the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, to New Delhi would prove to be a precursor to better relations between India and China. Mr. Nehru replied that Mr. Khrushchev was going to Indonesia and Delhi happened to be on his way. He did not see how anyone could necessarily connect it with China or the border situation.

43. See SWJN/SS/57/pp. 371-372 and 374-378.

When a correspondent wanted to know whether the Soviet Union had taken any steps or was trying to ease tension between India and China, Mr. Nehru replied, "not to my knowledge."

Asked to elaborate on this, Mr. Nehru said: "There is nothing to elaborate, that is to say, we have had no communication (from the Soviet Union) on that subject. I cannot speak directly what might have happened or will be happening (in this regard), without my knowledge. I cannot say definitely."

In reply to another question about a Tass statement in which the Soviet Government had suggested that India and China should settle their problems peacefully. Mr. Nehru said that, that was so. "But the question I was asked was whether the Soviet Union was trying to ease tension between India and China. How can I say what they (Soviet Union) are trying?"

Asked in what "concrete way" the toning up of the administration would be done in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Congress session here. Mr. Nehru said that the real difficulty was about procedures which came in dealing with matters. The real difficulty was that the system of administration was not meant to bring about rapid decisions at all. It was a system full of checks and counter-checks, references and notings and sanctions at various stages with the result that great delay took place. The point now to stress was that things should move rapidly and responsibility should be taken. Another difficulty was that in a normal democratic procedure, it was difficult to fix responsibility as things were all so spread out. So the main point was that these things should be expedited.

Asked whether the defence forces of India would be increased in view of the Chinese incursions on the border, Mr. Nehru said that he could not discuss such matters here. There was the Territorial Army, the NCC and various other auxiliary bodies. These might be strengthened but to his knowledge not to any large extent.

Mr. Nehru said that primary education had developed considerably in India. About 50 to 60 per cent of the children were going to primary schools. The Education Ministry had decided that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, there would be free and compulsory education for every boy and girl between the ages of seven and 11. Later, it was hoped to the age of 14 years.

(d) Interviews**8. To James Mossman⁴⁴****PANDIT NEHRU LOOKS AT THE SIXTIES**

An interview with JAMES MOSSMAN⁴⁵ in the B.B.C. television programme 'Panorama'.⁴⁶

James Mossman: I would like to ask whether you think that the 'cold war' will continue into the sixties.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should think not. It would be a very bad thing if it lasted; already there are some signs of its getting less. When it will entirely cease it is difficult to say, but I think progressively it will get less and less.

Mossman: What major concessions do you think that either, say, America or Russia could make in the next ten years or would be likely to make that would end it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Major concessions have to be considered in the light of a particular problem. For instance, now we are dealing with European problems, Germany, etc. I do not know and I really cannot say what concessions should be made: the real thing is if they could get rid of this fear that the other will attack them; once they get rid of that fear the rest becomes relatively easy.

Mossman: Do you think the Russian Communist system will become increasingly a search for a welfare state and will abandon world revolution?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that has already happened; I do not think that Russia has any desire for territorial expansion. She is what I would call a satisfied power territorially. Naturally, she has a desire to impress the world with her own achievements, but that is a good thing in a sense, because it leads to internal evolution and not anything that frightens others.

44. Published in *The Listener*, a weekly magazine of the BBC, 21 January 1960.

45. (1926-1971); British journalist, broadcaster, TV reporter, interviewer and a member of the Panorama team in the nineteen sixties.

46. The filmed interview was telecast on 4 January 1960.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Mossman: What about Chinese Communism? I think you said recently that no power, or no government, in the world, cared less about peace?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that is the present phase of it; I have no doubt that even China will get out of it, but when, I cannot say; she cannot live up to this rate or this level.

Mossman: Do you think the Russians would try to restrain China during the period in which she was getting out of the growing pains?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Russian influence, I suppose, will be emphasised in that direction to some extent. One cannot really restrain people or countries too much; but if one tries, it has some effect certainly.

Mossman: Do you expect Chinese influence to increase in Asia?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a fact that China and India are the two biggest countries of Asia. If you go back 1,500 years or so, for several hundred years China and India faced each other all over South East Asia. They happened also to spread out more; the others were quieter people. During all that period there was no essential conflict between India and China, although they had been in contact from central Asia to south-east Asia. And undoubtedly both China and India, in their own ways, will influence other countries round about. Chinese influence will be very considerable. How far that influence takes aggressive forms is another matter.

Mossman: Do you feel a sense of responsibility to the smaller Asian states watching this experiment in China and India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is good enough for me to have a sense of responsibility for my own country, without having to think of other states. If we make good in India then they would be affected by it undoubtedly.

Mossman: Do you feel that the basis of this influence is going to be an economic one for both China and India, as opposed to a military one? That is, he who can produce the miracle of development first may have the initiative?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, undoubtedly the day of military influence will grow less and less.

Mossman: All over the world?

Jawaharlal Nehru: All over the world; not new but in the course of years; because really, if you think of it, it is getting out of date, this kind of thing. Of course, with scientific developments and the tremendous weapons and all that, war as such is just unthinkable in any big way. There will be considerable disarmament, there is bound to be, some time or other. Even then strength will be with the industrialized and scientific nations. The next ten years are going to be a hard struggle for India, China, and other countries in Asia and Africa—a very hard struggle: first of all to provide the necessities of life, food being the first.

Mossman: Do you think that the non-capitalist countries will outnumber the capitalist ones in time?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Capitalism today is very different from what it was even fifty years ago, much more so than it was 100 years ago. It has changed very much. So, in fact, have the Communist countries, at any rate the older ones. I don't say they are giving up their basic economic policies, but they are changing, they are really approaching each other. The real difference today in the world is between the well-to-do countries and the underdeveloped countries. The other difference is a temporary one.

Mossman: Now that the British Commonwealth contains so many completely different types of system, do you think it can possibly weather the next ten years without changing its form?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Commonwealth has shown remarkable powers of adaptation and resilience. Of course that also means that its members have sat tight and done nothing—allowed everybody to do what he chose. But it is a virtue. It is a virtue to prevent a deadlock by not coming near it, by just allowing things to go on. But, I think, in the balance it certainly is a force for creating the atmosphere for the solution. The members of the Commonwealth don't solve the problems, they just help in creating that atmosphere. Even Ghana and South Africa sit at the same table in London or wherever they may meet—which is a new development—and South Africa may not like it but she has to put up with it. Therefore, I do think that the Commonwealth has a good role to play even in racial relations.

9. To Robert S. Elegant⁴⁷

NEHRU – HIS VIEWS ON CHINA, RUSSIA, THE U.S.

Shortly before Nikita Khrushchev met Jawaharlal Nehru last week,⁴⁸ Newsweek's Robert S. Elegant⁴⁹ interviewed the Prime Minister.

[Elegant]: Are your troubles with China a result of deliberate Communist Policy or just local flare-ups?

[Nehru]: Our dispute has hardly anything to do with Communism. Historically, it is the habit of the Chinese people to consider any land they once held as theirs forever. (The disputed Himalayan area was once part of imperial China).

[Elegant]: Do you think Khrushchev could influence China if he wanted to?

[Nehru]: Khrushchev can probably influence them to a minor extent, But he may not want to.

[Elegant]: What do you think of the Soviet Union? Russia has relaxed...

[Nehru]: There is a growing feeling of normality, of satisfaction at national achievements. Khrushchev is exceedingly popular.

[Elegant]: Do you still think China should be admitted to the U.N.?

[Nehru]: Yes. China must come into the U.N. If there were world disarmament, it would be absurd to leave an armed China outside the U.N.

[Elegant]: What about Formosa?

[Nehru]: We only recognise mainland (Communist) China. Formosa is now a U.S. problem.

47. Interview to Robert S. Elegant, *Newsweek*, 22 February 1960.

48. 11 February 1960.

49. (b. 1928); British-American author and journalist; covered both the Korean and the Vietnam wars.

[Elegant]: Is the growing friendliness in India toward the U.S. entirely the result of President Eisenhower's trip?⁵⁰

[Nehru]: There has never been a dislike of the U.S. here, only a dislike of certain U.S. policies. Relations between countries cannot long stay on a high emotional level. But recent developments have brought us much closer.

10. To R.K. Karanjia⁵¹

THE GANDHIAN HERITAGE

Question. Mr. Prime Minister, as I was waiting outside your office for this interview, I heard someone mention that next year happens to be your father Motilalji's centenary. I wonder if this is correct?

Answer. Quite so. He was born in 1861.

Q. I had no idea that a whole century had passed. What a fabulous period it has been!

A. Yes indeed—and do you know that father was born on the same day as Rabindranath Tagore?

Q. The same day. Sir?

50. For details of his visit to India, see SWJN/SS/55/pp. 378-399.

51. Originally published as *The Mind of Mr. Nehru. An Interview by R. K. Karanjia. Foreword by Radhakrishnan* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960). R. K. Karanjia wrote to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund on 19 July 1979 that he could not furnish the exact dates of the interviews as he had "reprocessed" the record of the interviews into two books: 1) *The Mind of Mr. Nehru* (details above); and 2) *The Philosophy of Mr. Nehru. As Revealed in a Series of Intimate Talks with R. K. Karanjia* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966); however, some of the "newsworthy" interviews were published in *Blitz*. Interviews went on intermittently until 22 March 1964 according to Karanjia's second book (p.20), which will appear in a forthcoming volume of the SWJN.

The original copyright holder of both books is shown as George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1960. However, owing to transfers of ownership, the current copyright holder is not traceable. Both HarperCollins Publishers, London, who absorbed titles from the George Allen and Unwin UK List, and Taylor and Francis UK who bought rights from HarperCollins, have informed the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund that they do not hold the copyright.

A. Yes, the same day, the same month, the same year—a remarkable coincidence!

Q. They must constitute two of the most vital influences with Gandhiji and, of course, yourself, on this Indian century. In fact, one thinks of Motilalji, yourself and Gandhiji in terms of the Father, Son and the Holy Mahatma in a sort of an Indian National Trinity?

A. I would not put it that way, but it is true that the three of us exercised considerable influence upon one another. And most of all, Gandhiji on both of us. He was a powerful and revolutionary personality and a very effective one too. So was father in his own way, very strong and stubborn, and, of course, of a very different mould, but Gandhiji persuaded him out of his ways and beliefs to join the freedom struggle. The way this change was brought about by persuasion, consent, and patient handling of human nature, without any coercion and at the same time, without any compromise on essentials, struck me as something very remarkable and also very effective. It was typical of Gandhiji's strategy of winning over opposition. It brought results, produced major changes, not only in relation to father but in relation to all people, the masses and, in fact, the whole country.

Q. And yourself most of all?

A. Yes, myself most all. The transformation of father under Gandhiji's influence, as also the revolution he was producing in the minds and hearts of the people by truthful and honest means, non-violent means, peaceful and persuasive rather than coercive means, and yet effective means which brought about results, was something new and revolutionary. It gave me what I was searching for.

Q. A lever for your own solutions?

A. A lever certainly. My approach to problems was different, very different, from Gandhiji's at that time; but on the main issue of freedom and the strategy for the struggle we agreed completely, both in regard to the ends and the means. One doubted his way of going about the fight, but he bowled out all opposition by producing results, moving the masses in a big way and in the right direction, till we realised that he was a great revolutionary force in action.

Q. Would it be a correct analysis to say that this triangular relationship between Motilalji, Gandhiji and yourself produced the elements which have since fashioned what is known today as *the Indian approach* or *the Nehru*

line in national and international affairs?

A. It is wrong to call it the Nehru line or anything of that sort. It was fundamentally *an Indian approach*, as you say, and Gandhiji, of course, represented it. That is why he was able to create such revolutionary changes.

Q. What I meant to suggest was that Motilalji was in some ways the great Victorian representing the best traditions of European liberalism, while Gandhiji was the pure and simple nationalist with some kind of an atavistic approach. The link between these two vitally diverse personalities could perhaps have been Jawaharlal Nehru, come back to India deeply imbued with Marxist Socialism and conscious of social, scientific and historical forces. Perhaps, it could be said that the interaction of these three influences produced the Indian approach which we see functioning today in domestic as well as international affairs?

A. One cannot define personalities in such a sharp manner. Gandhiji, for example, was much more than the nationalist, pure and simple and atavistic, as you call him. He was a great man and a mighty leader. He had a deep social conscience, not in the socialist or class-struggle sense, but as reflected in the almost continuous struggle he waged against inequality for the under-dog, the Harijans and the peasantry, for example. Take the caste system and consider how he used the lever of his challenge to Untouchability to shake and overturn, as it were, the whole structure.

What I mean to say is that Gandhiji, too, had a social philosophy which emerged right from the beginning of his career in South Africa. This is one reason why our freedom struggle was never without its social content—in fact, the latter was its base and this is why the strategy produced such tremendous results. Gandhiji believed in the complete identification of the leadership with the masses, even if that meant falling behind somewhat and slowing down the pace of progress so as to carry the whole people forward with him.

Q. To carry the whole national mass continuum forward?

A. Yes—that is, without dividing or splitting the movement and causing factional opposition by being unnecessarily aggressive or dogmatic. Gandhiji always sought to function within the social fabric in which the masses had been living for centuries and tried to bring about gradual but revolutionary changes, instead of destroying the fabric or uprooting the people from their soil. He insisted on continuity with the past and he accepted the existing social system as a base for

his political and social strategy. Again, taking the Caste system as an example, you can see how he functioned. He sought the weakest point in the armoury of the Caste structure—that is, Untouchability—and by undermining and dynamiting it he shook the whole fabric without the people realising the earthquake he had unleashed. In this way, Gandhiji introduced new and revolutionary processes in the mass mind and brought about mighty social changes.

Q. That may be so, Sir. Nobody doubts Gandhiji's enormous influence on the Indian revolution, even though people of my way of thinking consider his philosophy to be somewhat confused and unscientific. However that may be, the Gandhian era ended with the assumption of political power by the Congress. The year 1947 ushered in what is universally hailed as the Nehru epoch in our country. Should I be right in the inference that from Freedom onwards, you used the Gandhian means to serve the Nehru ends—that is, Socialism within the fabric of Parliamentary Democracy, first of all; Secularism next; and, finally, and most importantly, your insistence on a foreign policy based on World Peace and Non-alignment?

A. You are wrong in using words like the Nehru epoch or the Nehru policy. I would call ours the authentic Gandhian era and the policies and philosophy which we seek to implement are the policies and philosophy taught to us by Gandhiji. There has been no break in the continuity of our thoughts before and after 1947, though, of course, new technological and scientific advances since have made us re-think in some ways and adapt our policies to the new times. But here also Gandhiji was in many ways prophetic. His thoughts and approaches and solutions helped us to cover the chasm between the Industrial Revolution and the Nuclear Era. After all, the only possible answer to the Atom Bomb is non-violence. Isn't it?

Q. If I may interrupt, sir, you have gone beyond non-violence to the discovery of a more positive solution to this threat of the Atom Bomb in *Panch Sheel* or the Doctrine of Peaceful Co-existence.

A. All that was inherent in Gandhism. In fact, this approach of *Panch Sheel*, co-existence, peace, tolerance, the attitude of live and let live, has been fundamental to Indian thought throughout the ages and you find it in all religions. Great emperors like Ashoka practiced it and Gandhiji organised it into a practical philosophy of action which we have inherited. There was no place for the "cold war" in Ashoka's mind, and Gandhiji gave the world the most practical substitute

for war and violence by bringing about a mighty revolution with the bloodless weapon of passive resistance. The most important thing about our foreign policy is that it is part of our great historical tradition. Do you know the story of Chanakya?

Q. I don't seem to remember it, sir.

A. It appears in a very interesting Sanskrit book⁵² translated by my brother-in-law, the late Mr. Pandit,⁵³ who was a Sanskrit scholar. You must get the English translation and read it if it is available. It tells a story of King Chandragupta and his Prime Minister Chanakya. Chanakya was typical of the Indian genius: peace loving, shrewd, cunning, very scholarly, proud and selfless and reputed to be a very wise man. Now, some kings and chieftains opposed Chandragupta and organised themselves into a confederation and declared war on the Kingdom. Chandragupta called Chanakya to lead the defence, and this person, who appears to have been a great statesman and a superb diplomat, succeeded in confusing and defeating the enemy front without resorting to anything like a war or even a battle. Somehow, the enemy was won over. Then came the test. Chandragupta asked Chanakya's advice as to what to do next. Chanakya replied that his job was done. He had dispersed the foe and won a victory for his king. All he desired now was to be relieved of his responsibility so that he may retire to the forest and attend to his reading and writing. The King was shocked. For who would substitute Chanakya as the Chief Minister? Chanakya's reply was classic and very symptomatic of Indian thought. He told the King to get the defeated leader of the enemy confederation to serve him as his Chief Executive. That was the only way to restore peace and goodwill to the Kingdom. Now that was co-existence some 2,000 years ago. Wasn't it?

Q. True enough, Mr Nehru. I stand corrected, but still the conviction remains amongst progressives that Gandhiji broke and emasculated your earlier faith in scientific Socialism with his sentimental and spiritual solutions.

A. Some of Gandhiji's approaches were old-fashioned, and I disputed them, even combated them, as you know well enough. But on the whole it is wrong to say that he broke or emasculated me or anybody else. Any such thing would be against his way of doing things. The most important thing he insisted upon was the importance of means: ends were shaped by the means that led to them, and

52. *Mudrarakshasa*.

53. Ranjit Sitaram Pandit.

therefore the means had to be good, pure and truthful. That is what we learnt from him and it is well we did so.

On the other hand, what you say about sentimental and spiritual solutions may be true. I take it that by sentiment you mean humanity—that is, the deep human approach which has always been as much part of my thinking as it was of Gandhiji's. The spiritual approach, too, is necessary and good, and I have always shared it with Gandhiji, probably more so today when we see the need of finding some answer to the spiritual emptiness facing our technological civilization than I did yesterday. Scientific Socialism, as you call it—I take it your reference is to Marxist Socialism—also has to be adapted to the new scientific era which has processed beyond the Industrial Revolution which was responsible for Marxism. New changes pose new riddles which demand new answers.

II

MARXISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

Q, Now here, I believe, we of India—I use the collective deliberately, since evidently mention of Jawaharlal Nehru embarrasses you! — have discovered the new answers, or, at least, some of them, to the new problems of the changing times. First and most important of them all, as I see it, is the adoption of the Marxist approach, which in our case has gone through the Gandhian influence, to the imperatives of the new scientific and technological era. In this context, India can boast of having evolved, first of all, *a new kind of Socialism* and, secondly, *a new way to Socialism*, both of which attempt to create a synthesis between Capitalist democracy, on the one hand, and Communist dictatorship, on the other.

Now, sir, without indulging in flattery, I would like to say that this constitutes a very remarkable experiment which affects one-seventh of humanity directly and the rest of the world indirectly, but very vitally. Besides, it provides some answers to the problems raised by the new epoch of nuclear discoveries and inter-planetary advances.

This is one side of the picture. On the other hand, your noble but somewhat abstract Manifestos on this New Socialism, or Socialist Humanism, have put your followers in an ideological dilemma. The reason is that you have not defined the *goals* and objectives of Indian Socialism, nor fashioned the *means* or *instruments*. Nevertheless, I believe you now have sufficient experience of both to give us something like a definition. Could you?

A. You are constantly referring to Indian Socialism and to Manifestos on Socialism by me. Well, the truth is that I do not think of the problem particularly in terms of *Indian* Socialism, nor have I issued any *Manifestos*....

Q. I am referring to your speeches, your writings, and your books like *Whither India*.⁵⁴ They have been our Manifestos...

A. Yes, I understand. But as I said, one cannot think of it particularly or specifically in terms of *Indian* Socialism, though I agree that each country has a particular genius, particular roots, and its social and economic structure is partly conditioned and moulded by these factors. To illustrate this, let us take the example of religion. Buddhism, for instance, spread to many countries from India putting on the garb as it were of each separate country. Chinese Buddhism, though derived from India, took on a Chinese orientation. So did the Burmese, the Japanese, etc. That means it was engrafted in to the roots of the national soul or whatever you like to call it. In that sense, national characteristics have to be borne in mind in any study of political philosophies as you have to take into account the climate and other physical features of each country. The study of a tropical region in the context of economic production may well be different from that of a non-tropical country.

Q. That is so. I would like you to submit the Marxist analysis to the Indian situation as also other objective conditions to which you have made references before.

A. I was coming to that. In considering what may be called the economic or social philosophy, one learns, of course, a great deal from past experience; and I have always considered the Marxist analysis of the past very scientific and very illuminating. I do not agree with everything Marx says, but broadly, I have found it useful and rational. Nevertheless, the fact must be remembered that Marxism was the outcome of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in England, the early beginnings when conditions were rather peculiar and very special, conditions which have not been repeated elsewhere in the world and quite naturally so. Marx was influenced by the abnormal and, I should say, abominable conditions which prevailed in the first flush of industrialisation when there was nothing like a democratic structure of the State and changes had to be made violently for the simple reason that they could not be made constitutionally or democratically. Hence his doctrine of revolutionary violence.

54. Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1933.

Now, when we face the problem of production, change etc., dealt with by Marx, today, we have to think of them in the context of our own times, our own country and our peculiar circumstances and objective conditions. We cannot go back to conditions in early nineteenth century England in which Marx functioned. It is our conditions that prevail and fashion our thought. The Marxist solutions follow a brilliant line. They may have been right and proper for the times and the problems which brought them into being, but you cannot remove them from their historical context and apply them to a century where different conditions prevail. That is one argument against dogmatic insistence on the Marxist solutions.

Secondly, the Marxist analysis of many things, historical forces and the like, was *in vacuo* a correct analysis. Let me explain what I mean. If you do not think of other forces coming into the picture, the direction of Marxist economy, which says that given such and such conditions, this or that will happen, or should happen, is logically correct. But the trouble is that Marx does not take into account *other* forces that might come into play in the future. That, of course, was not the fault of Marx. He saw the conditions as they were during his period and used them as the premises for his conclusions. Then other forces came in. The most important of them was political democracy which made possible peaceful change. Remember that in Marx's time there was no political democracy, even in the so-called democratic countries, where the land-owning class was in the government. Now, the mere fact of the vote coming in, even though it does not solve all problems, does make and has made vital differences. When everybody has a vote it becomes a power exercising certain pulls, certain effective pressures, in the direction of social change to an extent that Marx could not have conceived simply because the picture was not before him.

Then other and further democratic factors came into the picture, like trade union organisations, workers' organisations, peasant organisations—all exercising powerful pressures upon the wealthy ruling classes in favour of what might be called the beginning of economic democracy. The result was that the Marxist fear in the contest of the Industrial Revolution that there would be greater and greater concentration of wealth and power in fewer and fewer hands, extending and widening poverty, did not really occur. These pressures—partly democratic, partly trade union and others that followed—had a powerful impact in limiting both. I do not dispute the fact that the economic tendency which Marx foresaw happened, but it was limited and inhibited all the time by these objective conditions.

There were new types of organisations growing in the political background which was changing, continuously and radically, on one side, accelerating the urge for social justice and the will to social change. On the other, the world was

being revolutionised by really big and tremendous technological developments, of which nobody in the nineteenth century, Marx or any other thinker, could have had any awareness.

These scientific and technological developments have in theory, you might say, solved the problems of wealth and production, bringing the goal of material prosperity within reach of all. That is, in theory at least, there is enough in the world to go round the entire human population or enough can be produced in the world to satisfy every normal, primary want of humanity.

Marx was functioning at a time when the main economic question was one of the distributions of something that was not enough and this created all kinds of conflicts. The stronger and wealthier seized the most of what there was and the poor and the weak went to the wall....

Q. Survival of the fittest and Devil take the hindmost?

A. Yes, survival of the fittest. The point is that when there are shortages, these conflicts become sharp, but when there is a tendency to produce enough for all, these conflicts lessens.

Now, at the present moment, the biggest apparatus of production is in the United States of America. I do not deny there is a huge difference between the American billionaire and others; but the fact remains that conditions of living there, their standard of life, etc., are very high. There is no proletariat of the Marxist conception in America.

Q. Don't the Negroes fit into the Marxist definition?

A. They might. Yes, the Negroes might, a little more in the south than the north, but not quite in the Marxist conception. There, too, new conditions have not borne out exactly what Marx had prophesied would happen. Capitalism itself has changed, is changing all the time, though it sticks to its basic grab-instinct and tends towards monopolies and aggregation of economic power. But the urge for social justice is there even in the capitalist system.

What is important is that although the logical reasoning of Marx was correct, other factors have intervened. The sum of them—that is, these new factors and particularly the two features I have mentioned, of political democracy and technological advance—have produced a new set of conditions, and Marxism must be reviewed in this new context. They bring new problems and demand new solutions, completely new problems and solutions which Marx did not think of.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Q. You have mentioned political democracy and the technological revolution as the two main problems. Is there any other factor you have in mind, sir?

A. Probably one of the biggest of our problems, during the next decade or, maybe, after a decade, particularly in America and other economically advanced countries which are going in for automation in a big way, will be the problem of what to do with leisure. Now in an under-developed country like India this problem does not exist to the extent it does in the United States, Europe and particularly the more advanced Scandinavian countries and, of course, the Soviet Union. Its worst incidence is in America and it is bound to spread and intensify. You read about it all over the world in cases of youth delinquency and the general decadence of the moral fibre and spiritual discipline of humanity that somehow catches up with prosperous countries and societies. What is one to do with this new problem of the cultivation of leisure? For if we don't tackle it, the result would be a sort of mental and moral exhaustion of civilization itself.

Q. I read that the Russians are already applying themselves to this problem in a scientific manner.

A. They are, they are, but in Russia too the same difficulties have arisen, though in a much lesser degree. I wonder if a problem like this can be tackled scientifically to the exclusion of other values. What appears to be wanting is—I do not know how to put it—except to say that it is an *ethical* aspect which might be wanting, some *spiritual* solution.

Q. Isn't that unlike the Jawaharlal of yesterday, Mr Nehru, to talk in terms of ethical and spiritual solutions? What you say raises visions of Mr Nehru in search of God in the evening of his life!

A. If you put it that way, my answer is: Yes, I have changed. The emphasis on ethical and spiritual solutions is not unconscious. It is deliberate, quite deliberate. There are good reasons for it. First of all, apart from material development that is imperative, I believe that the human mind is hungry for something deeper in terms of moral and spiritual development, without which all the material advance may not be worth while. Now the question arises: *how to bring about the moral and spiritual standards?* There is, of course, the religious approach which has unfortunately narrowed down to dogmas and ceremonials. The form or shell remains, while the spirit is lost. Do you get my meaning?

Q. I do, sir. Would I be right in saying that, religiously speaking, you are somewhat inclined towards Buddhism and the Vedantic faith in divinity permeating our universe?

A. Buddhism certainly provides a fascinating philosophy, full of practical achievements not only in the matter of religion, but art and even politics, as you can see from the records of Ashoka. The old Hindu idea that there is a divine essence in the world and every individual possesses something of it and can develop it, appeals to me in terms of a life force. I do not happen to be a religious man, but I do believe in something—call it religion or anything you like, which raises man above his normal level and gives the human personality a new dimension of spiritual quality and moral depth. Now whatever helps to raise man above himself, be it some god or even a stone image, is good, obviously it is a good thing and must not be discouraged. Speaking for myself, my religion is tolerance of all religions, creeds and philosophies.

Q. Not only tolerance, but I would go further to suggest that you aim at something like a synthesis of them all?

A. I may not be aiming at anything like a synthesis—that is, consciously—but it happens to be part of my make-up, I am somewhat like the old pagans who used to worship all the good and beautiful things of life and nature like gods and, just in case some deity may be left out and thereby feel offended, they created—a special image dedicated to the Unknown God too! As you know four great religions have influenced India and continue to influence us, while we are fairly well advanced in the field of technology and industrialisation without any visible conflict between science and religion. It might still be the high privilege of India to bring about such a synthesis.

Q. That is well put, sir—but I am afraid I have led you away from the main issue of our talk. We were on the problem of *cultivation of leisure* as one of the problems Marx could not have foreseen, and you were saying that it required more than a purely scientific or Marxist approach to tackle this problem?

A. Yes, it is really the problem of creating a *fully integrated human being*—that is, with what might be called the spiritual and ethical counterpart of the purely material machinery of planning and development being brought into the making of man. Planning and development have now become an almost scientific and mathematical formula. Given a sound basis, they are bound to

produce desired results in what is known as a welfare state with a self-developing economy. But is that enough really? I don't think so. Even in states with highly developed economies material progress by itself appears to have failed to provide people with a fully integrated life. There is a vacuum. There is maladjustment. Once you solve the problem of employment, for example, the next and bigger problem becomes one of the employments of leisure itself. For as soon as man gets the material comfort he desires, something deeper inside him hungers for—well, something deeper, something spiritual and ethical.

And then, more than ever before, you come up to the problem whether the human being is sufficiently developed—mentally, morally and ethically—to use his leisure to advantage. This problem is always there, of course, but when he is working, when he is doing a job, involved in the struggle for survival, it may be a fierce struggle as in our country or a milder one in some advanced countries, it keeps him busy. But when his social and economic problems are solved, as they have been in the more developed countries, and automation relieves him of work too, then you come up in a big way against newer problems like juvenile delinquency, sexual outrages and crimes, alcoholism, destructiveness, anarchy and a hundred other viruses of spiritual sickness and moral collapse. The problem is that once a person's physical wants are satisfied—that is, he's got enough money, employment, a home and other essentials—then he ceases to have a sure function in life.

Q. He gets engulfed in a spiritual vacuum?

A. Yes, a spiritual vacuum, an emptiness of the spirit, the result of which is what you call the angry young men and women of our generation. It is not an unintelligent or delinquent generation. They are intelligent and basically sound, but there is something going wrong—maybe for want of the problem of economic struggle. Now coming back to the point, this aspect of the question could not be considered by Marx—that is, this type of development and the new problems and new conditions that would result.

Q. Still, sir, I maintain from personal knowledge of the Socialist countries that this particular problem is not so acute there as in the Capitalist democracies.

A. Broadly speaking, I imagine that such problems could be easier dealt with in a Socialist structure of society. I don't say that the Socialist structure has all the answers for these new problems. I do not even know the answer, but I am sure it will gradually come. As problems rise, the answers come. Perhaps a new

base of civilization will evolve adapted to the new age of science and technology and with it will develop new ideologies and a broader philosophy. But I should think it would be easier to deal with such a situation which calls for new forms of collective life in a Socialist structure than in any other. But the fact remains, whether one has to deal with the atom bomb or our social structure or any other problem, one aspect that is becoming more and more important is *the ethical aspect*. You see, if we have the atom bomb or nuclear energy or space rockets, the main problem is how to use them. All these new discoveries take you outside the normal economic domain. You can't argue about them in terms of Marxist economy or any other set pattern. There must be a new approach, a modern approach a moral or ethical approach—I really do not know how to put it, but something of that nature. Otherwise there is no solution to this riddle. The whole thing degenerates into power rivalries which beset the development of our scientific and technological age. And this, in my opinion, brings us to the crux of the whole matter.

III

INDIAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Q. You rightly said, sir, that in conditions of our time we need a new approach and that is the crux of the whole matter. And that is why I want to get from you something like a definition of *the new Socialism* adapted to our times and providing the answer to its problems?

A. I am afraid I have no definition to give you. Definitions tend to become dogmas and slogans which prevent clear thinking in terms of a rapidly changing world. I am trying to search for the correct solutions, keeping before me certain objectives, *the broad objectives being human welfare and human development, providing opportunity to every human being to develop to the fullest measure possible*. This involves, in every group, more and more the cooperative element and less and less the competitive element. Although a measure of rivalry in friendly competition is a good stimulus, one must eliminate the cut-throat type of competition which is the essence of the capitalist approach.

Now, when you ask for a definition of Socialism, what you mean presumably is a definition of an *economic policy* which would lead to the desired goal. This is a means to an end: *the end being, basically, as I have said, human betterment, everybody having the chance to concrete development*. Of course, everybody wants this, or claims so. The capitalists do not say that they do not want human development or social justice. They may have doubts about mass development and the egalitarian side of progress. One cannot be too dogmatic about that too.

You cannot make everybody equal for the simple reason that people are different, intellectually or physically different. There are clever people, there are stupid people, and there are all types of people. But what you can do is to equalise opportunities for all and apply the same standards for everyone.

This brings us to the economic policy to be pursued in order to reach the desired goal. Now such a policy, again, will necessarily develop from country to country in the context of the objective conditions prevalent in, or peculiar to, this or that country. The economic policy to be pursued in a highly developed country is bound to be different from that applicable to a country which is under-developed or a country which is emerging from a primitive social order. You simply cannot leap or skip over different stages, but you have to grow from one into another.

Q. Where would you place our country in this context?

A. Our country at the present moment is a very mixed country. Almost every century is represented in India: from the Stone Age in which some tribal live, you may say, to the middle of the twentieth century. We have atomic energy and we use also cow-dung. But broadly speaking, our country is on the verge of becoming relatively mature in the technological sense. Mind you, I am thinking in terms of technology right now and not in any other context. In some ways we may be less developed and in others more developed, but taking our technological civilization as the test, we have developed in recent years a sound base which, again, is growing—that is, *a growing base which will inevitably lead to more and more rapid industrialisation.*

Q. *Inevitably*, sir?

A. Yes, I say inevitably because, once a growing base is established and the requisite forces released, they develop a certain momentum, a kind of propulsion of their own. Our approach, being Socialist, is primarily an economic approach which has made politics revolve around economic policies. There may be controversies, there may be troubles and setbacks, even governments may change, but all that cannot stop these inevitable forces advancing in a certain direction. Some may lessen their speed. Others may accelerate it. So, the country will go forward anyway. I have no doubt on that point. The only problem that disturbs me is whether we will go ahead fast enough to catch up with various other factors.

Q. Meaning, the rest of the world? – Or indigenous factors?

A. I mean factors like the growth of the population, on the one hand, and the growth of social problems, on the other. Now let us say that our population grows by two per cent every year. The necessary economic increase of two per cent to cover the population growth is not very much. But the important thing to remember is that this extra two per cent increase in economic terms is just sufficient to keep you where you were. And that is not good enough because there are crying evils, desperate wants and shortages among the people which have to be covered simultaneously with the growth of the population. These must be supplied, mere so because the people who really struggle and suffer cannot call our attention to their tragedy by means of strikes or any sort of demonstration.

Incidentally, one hears a lot about strikes and *satyagraha* and all that today. But, really, if we examine the situation, those who strike belong to the more prosperous class of the community, relatively speaking. By prosperous I do not mean rich or anything of that sort. What I want to convey is the fact that the really poor never strike. They haven't the means or the power to demonstrate. If the villages haven't got drinking water, what are they going to strike for? So all the time we have to keep thinking in terms of providing these elementary and primary wants, whether it is food or water or clothing or housing, to the people.

Now let us put anything you like—say two per cent more—by for these necessities besides the other two per cent on account of population increase. That brings you to four per cent. That, too, although helpful in creating better conditions, does not give you any money for investment for future progress. The main problem in the poor and under-developed countries is how surpluses could be created for investment and greater production. Therefore, you require more, and the more you can provide, the faster you can develop. Now you may put this to six per cent or seven per cent or eight per cent, but remember every one per cent means a tremendous deal of money. Why, every one per cent extra means roughly in rupees 1,000 crores! How are you to get these 1,000 crores? You either increase the production to fetch 1,000 crores or raise that money from taxation or loans or aid, as the case be.

In this context one might say *the absolute minimum for India today is five per cent extra*. We have somehow to cover this minimum and then only can the country be set on the road to definite progress.

Q. Would you say this five per cent is the minimum imperative for our "take-off" from a static to a self-developing economy?

A. Not quite. Hardly so. Now you have mentioned the word "take-off". This

has become a very popular word. It is being used in all senses. But its basic significance to a country like ours is that the industrial apparatus and the agricultural apparatus function side by side in a way to generate their own growth. *It means a self-feeding, self-propelling, self-developing economy.* That is the only way a country can grow. It does not mean isolation from the world, of course: we will continue to buy and sell, get help and even give help to others, but broadly speaking, a self-sufficient economy helps us to take off to our goal.

Q. The only snag appears to be that we are not developing fast enough, comparatively speaking, even in the context of our own anticipations?

A. True, true. You see, unfortunately, the law of life appears to be that unto those who have, more shall be given!

Q. If I might interrupt, sir—it does seem to be a contradiction of our Socialist pattern of Society that there should have been greater inequality and disparity between the rich and the poor in both urban and rural areas since 1947 than ever before. How do you justify this contradiction of our Socialism?

A. I do not justify it. Nor can I accept such a sweeping generalisation. Inequality and disparity are there, plenty of them. Perhaps in some places, like cities where you live, you might see them growing; but on the whole there is widespread equalisation. Some rich may have grown richer with rapid industrialisation and all that. But conditions of the poor—that is, the working classes and the peasantry specially—have also improved.

When I mentioned the law of life giving more to those who already possess more, I was not thinking in terms of the rich and the poor in our country, but between the richer countries and our country, look at the problem this way. We in India have been working hard for the last ten years more or less. Yet the growth of our economy in the last ten years is slower than in the economies of other nations, which have reached a stage when they grow or develop themselves—thanks to their technological power. Even if they take things easy, they grow because the machines of economic development have developed their own propulsion. Russian economy, for example, has developed this power. It grows on its own steam-power because it “took off” a long time ago. So does the British economy which took off in the nineteenth century. The German economy took off some seventy to eighty years ago, and so also the French and the American. The important thing is to reach that stage of a self-propelling economy, and when that is done, the rest becomes an automatic process, broadly

speaking.

Now these disparities, whether between nations or within a nation, have to be lessened. As matters stand, these inequalities tend to increase with the result that social unrest and other conflicts and dangers increase in the under-developed world.

Q. To get over this increasing inequality and disparity between the under-developed and the over-developed countries, is it not possible to evolve some system of an international levy or income-tax to equalise or, at least level down, the widening economic chasm? Supposing, for example, the Bandung Powers got together within or outside the United Nations and arranged a joint pool of economic contribution to their development by the Western as well as the Soviet bloc of more advanced countries?

A. I am not convinced of the practicability of such solutions. The Bandung Powers can meet, of course, and pass pious resolutions, but will that bring any result? As it happens today, some of the Bandung Powers are pulling in a dozen different directions.

In regard to the suggestion of an international levy or income-tax, there appears to be a large-scale realisation in various countries, including more developed and richer countries, of the need, from their own point of view, of helping the development of the rest of the world. This feeling is strong everywhere, as I said, not from a humanitarian point of view necessarily, but a selfish one of what is being called enlightened self-interest. *But all the help in the wide world cannot make a country go ahead unless it helps itself.* It is not a question of money. Money comes in, of course, as capital, but there must be that urge to forge ahead. If that is not there, the country just falls behind. It simply goes to pieces; and mind you, this is not only a danger for the under-developed countries, but also the developed nations. Automation and other similar processes are making it so easy for people to create wealth without physical labour that the human being suffers from a sense of purposelessness and lack of function. When the human material in any country deteriorates, it is a matter of great danger.

Q. I was thinking of something like joint Soviet-American co-operation in countries like India by way of demonstration of the new spirit of economic co-existence. I feel this to be an important issue for the Summit Conferences. After all, sir, India and you particularly have played a very remarkable role in pulling Russia and America, Krushchev [sic] and Eisenhower, out of their "cold war" postures by providing them with a new and more positive

philosophy of peaceful co-existence. Since one good gesture deserves another, now that these powers see the necessity of coming together in the political field, would it not be a wonderful thing if they could make of India the laboratory of the next phase of Soviet-American economic co-existence on the basis of helping to reconstruct the under-developed world.

A. Well, leaving out what we have done for them and all that, both are co-operating with us in a big way. There is Bhilai and there are American projects, British projects Canadian projects, German projects in our development plans. We have always recommended the pooling of economic aid in the United Nations which we could use together with other under-developed countries, and to some extent this is being done already. The important fact is that there is this realisation of what you call *economic co-existence*, although at present it is developing more on a competitive than co-operative basis. But the latter is bound to follow.

Q. I should think that is a problem which claims priority on the agenda of the four gentlemen at the Summit and similar international conferences, particularly now that the principle of progressive disarmament, etc, are almost universally accepted, will save tremendous funds which could be utilized for the development of the under-developed world.

A. Let us hope so. It is generally understood now that it is as imperative for the richer countries to help raise the standards of the under-developed nations as it is for the latter to speed up this process. *The huge sums of money presently spent on armaments can suitably be utilised for the cause of advance in the world. The problem is one of social and economic balance on a global plane.* It is a problem of the right use of world production and its equitable distribution.

IV

ASSESSMENT OF A DECADE

Q: Since we are on the subject of economic development, may I know if you are satisfied with the progress made in India during the past decade or since your assumption of political power and executive authority?

A. I am satisfied with the industrial development. We have made mistakes, of course, and I would like to say that one of these and perhaps the most important of them all was the mistake we made of not launching our steel plants earlier in the First Plan.

Q. That was a very big blunder?

A. Well, you may call it a blunder or whatever you like. There were pressures and counter-pressures. One learns from them. But by and large, we have done remarkably well industrially. It is our agricultural progress that has been disappointing. Not that we have not made an effort, but partly nature has been against us—bad seasons, bad harvests, bad this and that—and partly maybe we didn't use our effort in a way that would produce best results. It has been a tremendous problem, you must remember. It is not only a question of Government decrees or laws: the issue is one of moving out of the traditional frame of society some 300 million of people, peasants wedded to orthodoxy and old customs.

Q. Each one individual a problem and 300 millions problems in all?

A. Yes, it's been a terrific job, pulling them out of their traditional ways and inherited ideas and customs. Mind you, they can be pulled out and they will be. I do not agree with people who say that the peasant is too conservative for change, though he certainly is conservative and more conservative than, let us say, the factory worker. What he is doing—that is, his function—is inherited from past ages, and is now a new thing and therefore he sticks to the old forms. But he changes, once you make him see the benefits of changes not by any kind of theoretical argument, but by producing practical and physical results. If he sees that this way of doing things is better with his own eyes, then it sinks into his mind and heart. In this context, the Agricultural Exhibition here, the recent one here in Delhi, has done him very great good. Some 200,000 peasants came to see it and they have gone back to their farms and fields with new ideas and methods planted in their mind.

On the whole, and very regrettably, I do not think agriculture has kept pace with industrialisation. If we had done a little better, if the seasons had been a little more favourable, it would have made a tremendous difference to our economy. I hope we shall do better now, anyway we are trying to do so.

Q. There is a very depressing contribution to this subject in *The Defeat of Indian Agriculture* by the French agro-expert, Prof. Dumont,⁵⁵ which asserts that the obstacles in the way of Indian production are not *natural* but *human*, and concludes that India cannot achieve a real social revolution, abolishing castes and other inequalities, using non-Communist methods. Have you

55. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 180-181.

read the Dumont Report? If so, would you care to discuss it, sir?

A. Yes, the whole report is with me and only a portion of it has appeared in the *New Statesman*. How I have studied this report together with other reports of equally noted agro-experts which disagree with it in part and in toto, and I happen to know a good deal myself on this subject. I can tell you that we have made mistakes and there are big obstacles and obstructions, natural as well as human—I have admitted all that already—but things are hardly as bad as Prof. Dumont makes them out to be. The trouble is that this problem of Indian agriculture has to be studied in the context of Indian conditions and the social fabric of our peasantry. Tradition and custom here condition and limit one's activity and slow down progress. We don't want to destroy their past or uproot them from their social fabric. We have to balance the forces of continuity with those of change. It all takes time.

Now, I confess I am not satisfied with the rate of progress made. I told you so at the beginning. But so far as castes and other inequalities are concerned, we have made substantial progress. We have also abolished the big landlord system and we are distributing the land more equitably. We try to do all this democratically and peacefully by eliminating rather than aggravating the conflicts of caste and class. It is basically a problem of moving the masses fast enough and changing the accumulated inertia of centuries into action and, in our case, doing all this within the democratic framework. Nevertheless I am optimistic enough to claim that within that framework we can go far, very far, maybe slowly but steadily. And once we start moving, as we are doing through the village community projects and now co-operative farming and village panchayats—that is, giving more and more power to the co-operatives and the panchayats, the pace will become quicker and the steps more confident.

I am, therefore, not prepared to give up this democratic framework simply because somebody does not see it work. It is said that progress, rapid progress, cannot be achieved by democratic and peaceful methods and that, therefore, authoritarian and violent methods should be adopted. I wholly disagree with this argument. Basically I am against anything that is authoritarian or violent. In India today, any reversal of democratic methods might lead to disruption and violence.

Q. There is *silent* violence and disruption going on all the time. Peasants die by the thousands as a result of hoarding and famine, disease and want of medicine....

A. Yes, yes. I understand all that. Freedom and democracy have to be limited,

of course, lest they injure others. Nobody denies that central fact. Hence the importance of giving power to the village co-operatives and panchayats. The conflict and the controversies are there, the violence is also there: only we are trying to resolve them peacefully and co-operatively. It takes time and patience and perseverance to do big things and here we are tackling a mighty problem affecting 300 million peasants.

Q. I understand the problem and the difficulties, sir—but going back to the issue of the progress made by India since independence in the context of our generally accepted Socialist approach, are you satisfied that a good beginning has been made and a sound base for advance properly laid?

A. Yes, I am satisfied that a good beginning has been made and a base for development laid. As you say, we have accepted the socialist and co-operative approach. Politics in India have begun to revolve more or less round economic policies. We have adopted also the planned and scientific approach to economic development in preference to individual enterprise of the old *laissez faire* school. We are, therefore, proceeding scientifically and methodically without leaving things to chance or fate. Once all this is done, the room for what might be called ideological debate on matters like planning and development becomes less and less. The whole thing becomes a mathematical formula.

Q. A mathematical formula?

A. Almost, almost, it becomes a mathematical formula, with one or two uncertain and variable factors. The biggest of these factors, of course, is the human factor, the quality of the human being. By this quality I mean the intellectual potentialities of the human being and his capacity for hard work. Now I have no doubt about the quality of the human being in India—intellectual quality, technological quality. I mean, given the chance, he is a good and intelligent technical man. I have no doubt about that at all. But I have a little doubt about our capacity for hard work.

Q. The capacity is there, but it has not been stimulated, organised and mobilized.

A. Maybe, whatever the reason....

Q. And that is your default, sir. A call from you and the whole country can be mobilised!

A. Maybe so, maybe so, but there are other factors also besides my own default. Climate and other conditions count. So all that is there, and other uncertain and variable factors too, which can be got over. Only it takes time. *But subject to these factors, planning and development have become a sort of mathematical problem which may be worked out scientifically*—that is, it is now laid down that if you do this, this is bound to follow and this is going to be the next step and that the third step. There will always be that ‘*if you do this*’, but a great deal depends on one’s capacity to do that, of course, intellectually and otherwise.

After all, a nation and a people have a relatively limited quantity of energy. You can push it up, rightly or by some other means, but you can exhaust your reservoir of energy. How energy is an extraordinary thing. By using it, you increase it. By exercising yourself, you increase your physical capacity. That is true. But there is a certain nervous energy of a nation which grows when you grow and wastes when you waste. Now suppose we exhaust that energy fighting over the redistribution of States and similar diversions. You spend something which you could have spent on something more positive and constructive. Now this again is an uncertain factor which obstructs planning and development.

Q. Coming from Bombay, where every other activity has been held up by all this business of linguistic distribution and redistribution, I can well appreciate your argument, sir.

A. These factors come in the way. They are unavoidable. But broadly speaking, planning for industrial development is generally accepted as a matter of mathematical formula. It is extraordinary how both Soviet and American experts agree on this. If a Russian planner comes here, studied our projects and advises us, it is really extraordinary how his conclusions are in agreement with those of—say, an American expert. It has been quite astonishing for me to come across this type of agreement from planners belonging to two different and contradictory political and economic systems. You see, they happen to be men of science, planners, experts, who approach our problems from purely a scientific point of view. Once they do so, they forget about ideologies and all that, and they agree, broadly, that given certain pre-conditions of development, industrialisation and all that, certain exact conclusions follow almost as a matter of course. Of course, I am not talking of non-scientific people, like the American businessman, for example, who will talk about private enterprise and all that, or the Soviet politicians who will press Communist or Marxist solutions. They always do so. But the moment the scientist or technologist comes on the scene, be he Russian or American, the conclusions are the same for the simple reason that planning and development today are almost a matter of mathematics.

Of course, always behind the mathematics or planning there are social problems and other problems. Taking agriculture, one gets into controversies about co-operatives and what kind of co-operatives, et cetera. Those problems are there, more in agriculture than in industry. Then there are other problems like population.

The problem of population was never before the Americans or the Russians. The Soviet Union is eight times as big as India with half our population. So the difference of ratio between land and population is 16 to 1 as compared to India. So all these factors either add to our difficulty or lessen them.

In effect, therefore, when we talk about Socialism, the first approach is rather a non-scientific approach. It is a certain human approach, of humanity growing and developing. When you talk of the scientific part of Socialism, you come to something which is not very much open to argument. Experience has shown that industrialisation, for example, has become a scientific thing, subject always to the capacity of the people to work hard and forge ahead.

Q. You appear to make a distinction between the industrial and the agricultural sectors. Does not the same formula—mathematical formula, as you call it—apply to industrialised farming in the same degree as Industry? To take an example, we have the big mechanised multi-purpose farm at Suratgarh which has added considerably to agricultural production within its limited field. Now supposing we are going in for a hundred Suratgarhs, would not that multiply the Suratgarh production a hundred times and help considerably to wipe out our agricultural deficit?

A. Yes and no. A hundred Suratgarhs would naturally multiply the production of one Suratgarh a hundred times, but what you forget is the vast human element involved in any consideration of rural India, we don't lack people. They constitute our biggest machine or lever or whatever you like to call it. As Gandhiji used to stress to us all the time: you talk about the machine, well I am not against the machine, he would say, but we happen to have thirty crores of machines in India. Why should we not use them? They are the human beings who work. Peasants with tremendous capacity for work. Now you may get a better machine per man or hundred men or even a thousand men, but you are wasting thirty crores, or twenty crores or ten crores of machines and they are not merely machines, they are human beings who have to be fed and looked after. So there is no device to solve the main problem of the human being happening to be creative and productive. So coming to the point, if we put up Suratgarhs all over the place, what is one to do with our labour potential?

Q. The farms may not be completely mechanised. They could be State farms large enough to absorb our excess labour, particularly landless labour. The human machines, as you call them, are there already, but we have not been able to mobilise them and absorb them.

A. But there is excess labour on the land already.

Q. Maybe so. But the conditions are absolutely horrible. You may not agree with some of Dumont's conclusions, but in this particular instance they are borne out by my own press-team which visited the whole country and studied this problem. There are landless workers on farms who are paid 4 or 5 rupees per month. Now, sir, couldn't these be mobilised on a number of larger State farms?

A. They can be mobilised, of course; but don't you see that the condition today is that on any farm in India—I mean, any peasant farm—there are probably more people working than the land requires. It is this excess population on the land that has been reducing India to poverty during the last 150 years or more. It is the problem of the agricultural population growing at the rate of manufacturing industry. That is our problem. It is the reverse process which happened in Europe. Countries like Czechoslovakia and Hungary after the revolution wanted to industrialise rapidly and they went about this business so rapidly that agriculture went to pieces. They didn't have the manpower to attend to the agricultural sector. Now they are trying to balance the two sectors. But here, you see, we have too many people. Our problem is a large and growing population—that is, on the field and in the farm. We have to draw the surplus away from agriculture to industry.

Now the mechanisation of agriculture can be divided into two parts. One using better tools, better ploughs, better implements which reduce labour and produce more. But the moment you go in for very big machines, you displace human labour. And when human labour has nothing to do, it creates social problems without increasing production. I mean, better tools do, but not the very big machines. The big machine is an essential thing in the vast lands of the Soviet Union and the United States which are under-populated. Here in our land the problem becomes different. The big machines will come, of course. You mentioned Suratgarh. We would like to have a few more Suratgarhs, and we have plans to organise them soon. Conditions are suitable for the Suratgarh type of mechanised farming in some places, like Rajasthan, which are not over-populated. But the essential thing is that water should get there. The present supply of water from Bhakra and other places will probably increase in the

next few years sufficiently to enable us to complete these big farms. But we look upon these farms, really, partly by way of experimental technique, and partly as reserves of food which we can supply to others in case of need. But broadly, our agricultural policy is one of small farmers co-operatively engaged. As for production, one of the highest productions in the world today is in Japan, where there are small farms and workers. We intend to follow that model as far as possible, of course not excluding the Suratgarh type of mechanised process.

Q. So our basic approach to farming is....

A. Broadly of peasant proprietors co-operating with other farmers in service co-operatives, we, of course, approve of the ideal of joint cultivation, but that depends on so many conditions like the willingness of the people, without any compulsory or rigid approach to the problem.

V

WHITHER INDIA?

Q. Mr Prime Minister, we have now covered almost the entire field of agriculture and industry in the context of our successes and failures during more than a decade of Independence. Could I now ask you to give me a resume of the *ends* and the *means* of our approach? First of all, sir, what are our objectives or the overall results we are aiming at?

A. Well, the main objective is to increase production and thereby find progressively fuller employment for our people. We want to become an industrialised nation with greater production, greater income, more national and per capita income and independent and self-developing economy. The overall result we desire, as you call it, is to break through the barrier of poverty and bring about better life, more happiness and prosperity for the millions of our people and, at the same time, try to organise a more egalitarian basis for society in India. Basically we have adopted a Socialist ideal built upon a planned co-operative economy, not Socialist in any rigid or dogmatic meaning of the word, but in a sense that is flexible and pragmatic. Also basic to our approach is what might be described as providing the human being, the individual as well as community, with the quality and character of a fully integrated person.

Q. That is a very good portrait of the national objective, Mr Nehru. But now coming to yourself, is the description of a Socialist at all embarrassing to you?

A. Certainly not. I have believed in Socialism for the past fifty years and, until somebody convinces me to the contrary, I shall continue to believe in and work for Socialism. I am not at all embarrassed about being a Socialist or our objectives being Socialist. That should be the ideal of every sensible nation or society or individual. Modern thinking all over the world is increasingly becoming Socialist and only people who have lost touch completely with contemporary trends can think otherwise. At the same time, I refuse to accept any particular dogma of Socialism as indeed any particular dogma of religion or metaphysics is foreign to my nature. That is why I refuse to be rigid about the form or pattern that Socialism, our approach to Socialism or anybody else's, takes. The important thing is that every individual should be given equal opportunity in a more or less egalitarian society with no great inequalities or disparities, at any rate none so far as opportunity is concerned. Both the extravagance of the rich or the poverty of the poor is vulgar and degrading and I want to eliminate them.

Q. Excellent, sir. But what is our approach to the *means* now that you have more or less defined the ends? Would you call it a legislative revolution?

A. We have chosen parliamentary democracy and we have done so because it produces the best results in the long run. It is the result that counts in the end, though we consider it necessary that the means should be good.

Q. Would it then be correct to say that our objective is to achieve a secular, socialist, co-operative society by planning through a legislative revolution, using parliamentary democracy as a suitable means to the achievement of this end?

A. That is broadly correct.

Q. Now, sir, we have got over this business of ends and means and few will question the validity of your approach—that is, the national approach, to both. But doubts exist in regard to the *apparatus* or *machinery* through which you propose to implement one of the greatest ideological experiments of our time. I would like to know what organisation you propose to leave behind to ensure the application of this enlightened philosophy.

A. That is a very difficult question for me to answer. The apparatus or organisation, as you call it, is there in the Congress Party, in the people or the country itself. The whole history of the Congress movement shows that its mainstream has always moved towards more and more progressive and

democratic trends. There have been attempts to change this direction, even to reverse it, but every time it is the progressive forces that have won the battle against the reactionary or conservative elements. If on the other hand, you are suggesting that I organise something like a group, and then I am against any such proposition. Such groups tend to become rather sectarian in outlook and with the tendency in India today—well, it is an old tendency amongst us of sectorising in religion, politics or everything—the emergence of any such group immediately creates a counter-group and so on and so forth. You know, first comes Kabir the Reformer and after Kabir come Kabir Panth: I mean the whole thing becomes a matter of conflicts and counter-conflicts and serves only to dissipate the nation's vitality.

Q. I think you have misunderstood my question, sir. What I want to stress is that the biggest default of your career appears to be the fact that you have never thought it necessary to build anything like a political party wedded to your ideals or creed, the ideological cadres of what we call the Nehru approach or the Indian way. In so far as you have entrusted the execution and continuity of your great experiment to people who do not share your faith, have you not condemned your philosophy to sterility and thereby been irresponsible to a historical imperative?

A. It is quite possible that is a failing of mine. After all, one has to function according to one's own capacity. But I have always hesitated to build up any such group or faction. That does not mean that I don't want a political party which is wedded to my ideals. I should like a political party to be infused by my ideals and, by and large, I should think the Congress is such a political party. There might be differences here and there, as there are bound to be in any democratically-organised party. But on the whole I should think that Congress is infused not with anything like a Nehru ideal or any other individual approach, but what is basically and fundamentally the Indian approach, the modern approach, the scientific approach, that is, the Socialistic approach—the only possible approach in the modern world. It can't help being so infused by what is the national ideology. After all, it is part of it. How can it go away from it?

Q. Granted all that and more, sir. But where are the ideological cadres of the Nehru doctrine? Why is the youth of the nation not harnessed to the national ideology? How is it that students and middle-classes, not to mention the peasantry, are being weaned away from Mr Nehru and his Congress by groups who exploit their frustrations like the Swatantra Party? Something is wanting somewhere!

is the fundamental force. The other is formed of superficial currents—sometimes going forward and at others retreating backwards. These are not of any consequence. It is the basic current that provides the party with its dynamic, moving both the other forces—the fundamental as well as the superficial ones—forward in the progressive direction. That is what has been happening since 1947. There might have been set-backs. The progress might have slowed down here and there, now and then, but on the whole it is the basic socialistic current that has carried the Party forward.

Q. Thank you for a very encouraging guarantee of the survival of Nehruism after Nehru, sir—still, if you will please forgive me for persisting in my line of argument, I want to know whether it is not possible for you to devote an hour or so a day to bring up the ideological cadres of your philosophy, young Congressmen who understand you? They complain that you have no time for them!

A. What is it that they actually mean by that?

Q. That you don't cultivate them, encourage them, draw the best out of them as Gandhiji used to.

A. Yes, Gandhiji had a remarkable capacity for drawing the best out of people. May be, I haven't. One can't control what people think. That is contrary to my principles. My approach has always been the mass approach or the public meeting approach or the small group approach. I think it is more effective to change the thinking of the masses and to produce the correct mass reaction to any event; and this approach has, I think, been instrumental in making the people at large social-minded. I am on this job most of the time. There is hardly a morning when I am not talking to a few hundred people at my house.

Q. Particularly peasants, I believe, sir?

A. There were farmers because of the Agriculture Exhibition which is now over. But they all come—farmers, workers, students, plenty of students. They come daily. I must have had 300 or 400 people in my house this morning. Some come from Rohtak in the Punjab, some from Mysore, some from the Satara district of Maharashtra and there was a large crowd of Scheduled Castes people. They come and I give them as much time as possible.

Q. Do you try to teach them or convert them?

A. I don't teach them or convert them. I talk to them about their own problems as simply as I can. They don't come to me for political or economic lectures, but if I can help them to find modern, scientific solutions to their difficulties, I have contributed something and maybe made them think differently in a broader national and even socio-economic context. Now if I meet a group of farmers, we talk about agriculture, how to better themselves, how to use better methods, the advantages of service co-operatives and co-operative farming, and so on and so forth. I try to get them to see the necessity of our approaches and theories from the point of view of their vocations and problems. All this educates people and makes them think and act in a broadly progressive direction.

Q. An excellent strategy, Mr Nehru. If I understand you right, you prefer to organise for our social, economic and political philosophy a broad national mass base rather than building groups or cadres. But do you think the Indian people *en masse* are mature, conscious and strong enough to resist any attempt at a counter-revolution? As you have yourself stated, there are fascist elements in the country who want to put the engines of progress in the reverse gear?

A. There are such elements—fascist elements, counter-revolutionary elements, all types of tendencies. They can't be helped in a huge country like ours. Recently in Bihar there was a big fair and somebody started a rumour that cows had been slaughtered by Muslims. This was absolutely untrue, but it roused communal passions and there were ugly incidents.⁵⁶ So this sort of thing happens, though by and large our people are loyal to our national stand on secularism. Consequently, it is difficult to say whether our people or any people are strong or mature enough to resist fascist or communal trends and pressures.

At the same time, I will say that Indians as a whole are gentler people than any other people in the world. They are peaceful by nature and will try to avoid violence not only in relation to human beings but animals also.

Q. But the same person who will not kill a mosquito will think nothing of throwing his accountant down from the fifth floor for reporting his Income-Tax rackets to the Authorities! I know of such cases....

A. That is quite true and I was coming to this paradox. I was simply astounded and terribly shocked by what I saw after partition and independence: the killing

56. At Sitamarhi in Bihar, 17-20 April 1959; 16 persons were feared dead. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281.

and the cruelty and the bestiality of it all in Delhi, the Punjab and other places—to think that these are the very same people who are normally so gentle and good!

Q. This seems to be the paradox of our national character.

A. Not our national character only. It happens to be a widespread characteristic. During the war and after, I was deeply shocked by the atrocities the Japanese were reported to have committed. Then when I went to Japan two or three years ago—well, I had all the background, but I was astonished to find what a fine people they were.⁵⁷ They are intensely polite, cultured, hospitable, hard working and artistic. Now the same people have these two aspects, the good and the bad; I suppose one has to overcome the other, and that is how humanity progress.

So it is difficult really to say whether India or any other nation is proof or can be proof against evil forces, reactionary forces, fascist forces and all that. And here is perhaps where one has to pay due attention to the moral character and spiritual quality of a people simultaneously with their material advancement. That is the importance of great men like Buddha or Gandhi to mankind. They lift them up, give them a sense of purpose and destiny and provide them with the spiritual discipline without which the world could become an uncontrollable jungle of human passions. After all, civilization is among many other things the quality of its strength and discipline.

Q. Is it your view, sir, that “armed with both material progress and moral strength, the Indian people can stand up to any attempt to reverse the engine while the socio-economic basis of the revolution is still weak and incomplete?

A. Once the people are given a proper democratic base or moorings, it should be difficult for the mass of the people to be diverted or reversed. The pace of progress could be slowed down or accelerated, of course, but I don't think it would be possible to take a whole people backwards. I cannot think that possible at all. The revolution, as you call it, may be weak and incomplete, but our plans, the idea of planning itself, have set in motion certain forces which cannot be stopped or reversed. At the moment the best insurance against any throw-back is the “hope level” of our people. It might be possible to frustrate this by making the people lose hope and faith. But once the Second and the Third

57. From 4 to 13 October 1957. See SWJN/SS/39/pp. 550-626.

Plans go into action, we shall be breaking through the static barrier of inertia, poverty and under-development and taking off—that is, our economy will begin to work on its own steam power. With this development backed by the will of the people, the effectiveness of which is secured through parliamentary democracy, it should not be difficult to maintain the continuity of our experiment.

Q. Thank you for a very illuminating argument which puts the entire controversy around the Succession in the proper context and correct perspective. If you will allow me to put it in my own way, this is how the mind of Mr Nehru works sub-consciously if not consciously: his failure or refusal to build anything like an ideologically homogeneous party, group or even cadres is made up for by his almost epic endeavour to transform the whole nation into a land of Nehrus which would act, ultimately, as a powerful national deterrent against any reactionary leader or group reversing the basic engine of our policy. How would you agree to this as India's democratic alternative to—say, the Chinese system of communes and compulsion?

A. We don't think in terms of alternatives to Chinese or any other institutions. We try to develop our approach according to our own traditions and necessities. This idea of building a mass basis for policies and creating powerful popular pressures for their continuity is as much a Gandhian approach or strategy as it is—well, Marxist or Communist or anybody else's. Today no nation, be it democratic or Communist, can function without the organised support of the broad mass of its people, though of course there are different ways and means of mobilising popular co-operation. In our country, Gandhiji evolved a brilliant and effective technique of moving the masses, changing their inertia into action and carrying them forward in the right direction. I think we have discussed this earlier. We have inherited this technique from Gandhiji. This type of mass consciousness can certainly act as a deterrent against anybody who desires to throw the nation back into the past.

Q. This provides a faint portrait of India after Nehru, sir. I hope to return to this subject at the end of these talks.

VI

DEMOCRATIC PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

Q. Mr. Nehru, you mentioned the fact that today development by planning such as we have adopted has become a sort of a mathematical formula,

barring certain variable factors. Now I suppose the most important of these variable factors is the human factor—that is, *the necessity of mobilising the masses to support and underwrite the Plan*. This again makes imperative the preconditions of certain institutional and other changes to suit the changing times, much more so in the agricultural than the industrial sector, changes like a new political leadership, maybe in the case of India, a new political alignment; next, a new administrative machinery based on essentials like service co-ops.; and finally, the mobilisation of at least a million cadres for a vast country like India to get the masses to co-operate in the development projects.

A. Obviously, the human factor is the basic and most important factor in any work to be done. That human factor involves certain characteristics of the people, certain amount of training, certain ability to do things, intellectually and otherwise, as well as certain urges to do them. The need differs from country to country. I suppose this is not a matter of economics. Once you plan to put up a steel plant and build it, after that you have to have people around the steel plant and all that. The country may be rather backward in its intellectual make-up.

So any answer to that question depends on the state of the country, the climate and so many other features. Secondly, it depends upon the objective aimed at. That's important. If you are considering this matter of planning, from the point of view of just an economic plan of putting up industrial plants and better agriculture, better tools, better and more modern methods of doing things—these are the things which I said can be mapped out, subject always again to the human factor.

Q. Suppose we restrict the discussion to India...

A. Dealing with India, the basic ability is there in abundance, the intellectual ability and the manual ability—I mean skilled labour. Given the chance, Indian workers are very good at highly skilled or precision work. Also in India, we have, by and large, many of the raw materials required. So, in that sense, we have certain necessary preconditions for industrial progress. Probably India would have gone ahead faster if in the past century or more it had not been—well, almost prevented from doing that!

Q. Even today we are not going ahead fast enough because we continue to function under the old administrative machinery. The issue, therefore, is whether we are giving the necessary thought to the institutional changes required by the new time and approaches?

A. We are, we certainly are. But all that you referred to as institutional changes, are not at all *institutional* changes really. You talk about leadership and new political alignments—that is not an institutional change at all. There are only two basic ways for approaching this question, though there may be, of course, halfway stages in between. One is what might be called the *authoritarian way*—that is, the government or a group of persons having power in the country and representing the government, imposing their wishes on the people generally, making them work hard and do the things they want. Naturally, even then, the imposition is accompanied by widespread propaganda and persuasion. It is not merely done by means of a decree, but an attempt to change people's minds and so they may accept that because no amount of imposition can be done without some impact on the people's minds. But broadly, this may be called the authoritarian way of making the people work much harder than they normally would and working in ways which are not agreeable to them, but under pressure they do it.

The other way may be called the *democratic way*, which means arousing by appeal, by reason, by argument and persuasion, by certain propaganda and all that, by inducing people to do things because, in the ultimate analysis, they realise that it is for their own benefit, if not today or the day after, in the future. The second way starts at the top, certainly, but really it functions at the bottom. The first way starts more at the top, though it also affects the bottom scale.

Now, if so far as building of plants is concerned, it is a relatively simple matter—that is, the planning is simple. If you have the resources, you go ahead with it. But when you come to agriculture, which is basic in any country, more so in India than any other place, you cannot go very far by impositions from above. In a democratic pattern, you have to get them to realise their function and become self-reliant and anxious to do something. That is why I attach a very considerable importance to the present institutional changes we are bringing about: Gram Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis, Samiti Panchayats, Jilla Parishads and the rest, which mean decentralising and handing over all development activities to those *panchayats*, the village organisations, with advice naturally, but leaving the responsibility to them.

This is a basic institutional change and I think that is more important than any changes we might bring about at the top. Top changes may be necessary from the agricultural point of view; from the industrial viewpoint that may not be so. And my own information is that this decentralisation has already brought rather remarkable changes where it has been applied, like in Rajasthan. Rajasthan, mind you, if I may say so, is a relatively backward state of India. It is waking up, and if you meet these people, these panchas and others, they are normal people and not extraordinary, but the way they talk to you is quite

different. There is certain confidence; there is no inhibition in talking to a big official or a minister or anybody for that matter, and a sense of feeling that they have got to do the job, a sense of function and faith in it. It was most encouraging for me to see this reaction. And we are going to go ahead with this all over India. I think that is going to bring about a new atmosphere in the agricultural field. That, of course, includes the building of new cadres in village industries, small industries, etc.

You have a lot to say about cadres and our failures to create them. I am not for moment thinking about a party like the Congress or any other party sending people to push them on or organise them. *But the real cadres are being built at the village level all the time.* They are not party cadres in that sense: they are village level workers, agriculturists, peasants—that type, whom we give proper training. We first gave the village level worker six months training, then we gave him a year, then we gave him a year and half, and now we give him two years' training—getting more and more of them trained, and helping them to do, I think, better work than they used to do. Inevitably, we have to face this difficulty of a vast area to be covered. We have to spread them out rather thinly as more people come. We need thousands of them, and they will come. But the main point is that we are making these village organisations responsible for practically all the development work, except some very big scheme which needs outside assistance. We give them competent people to help and to advise, competent engineers, animal husbandrymen, health men, education men, all at the block level. That type of institutional change coming about is basic.

Other institutional changes at the top are also coming about, though rather slowly, because there is always a certain risk in bringing about a major institutional change of stopping the wheels working for the time being till they settle down to normalcy again. The officers we have, all told, are not so passive or immune to change. It may be that we could have tackled this job better and faster, but one has to function, inevitably, within certain limitations.

Q. That is very true, sir. One can assume that the last twelve years of our history have been considerably influenced by the pattern of the transfer of power. If we compare the Indian and the Chinese revolution in this context, the main difference appears to have been that the Chinese broke completely with the past, while we sort of took over the past lock, stock and barrel by way of an inheritance. Now apparently the peaceful nature of the transfer of power in India has limited the capacity of the successor government to recast the governmental structure. Is it your experience that you started with too many commitments to the past and had to accept too many obstructions, particularly in the administrative machinery?

A. There are both sides to it—the good and the bad. I think the Services, by and large, are very good. I am not talking about all the lower grades because they have been swelled in the last few years by large numbers of new recruits coming in who require a good deal of training. But broadly speaking, the Services are good and competent. What is really wrong is not the human material, but the procedures inherited by us from the past—that is, a certain way of doing things. Now you and I necessarily have a different outlook, a modern outlook, a better and broader outlook, I think. But many of the older men have worked well and they are changing with the times. The real difficulty is presented by these *extraordinarily complicated procedures*. These did not come in the way of a simple system of government as the British had because they were not interested in too much social or economic work. These do come in our way today and we are constantly engaged with the necessity of simplifying them. I think we have succeeded and we will succeed in simplifying these procedures. It's got to be a continuous process—not like bang and something dramatic happening!

The pattern of the transfer of power has certainly influenced these years for good and bad alike. We had to take both along with us, but I feel on the whole it was better that it happened so. Gandhiji, of course, conceived and brought about this revolution of ours in terms of continuity and not in terms of a break with the past. This again was unique and significant because most revolutions are conceived in terms of break and violence. The peaceful transfer of power has been a great stabilising factor and naturally it has influenced subsequent history.

VII PHILOSOPHY OF SYNTHESIS

Q. All that you have said about our heritage and development suggests an overall philosophy of *synthesis* as against the doctrine of *antithesis*. Am I correct, sir?

A. Yes, synthesis, Gandhiji always sought to build bridges and forge links between conflicting elements.

Q. Synthesis is all right as a practical philosophy, but it becomes somewhat odd in its application to fundamental contradictions of the class nature. For example, Gandhiji sought to bridge the class difference between the *Haves* and the *Have-nots* with the astounding theory of trusteeship and trust. Why, he almost handed over the trusting lamb to the trusteeship of the tiger! The question is: have you come round to accept the Gandhian solution of *class*

synthesis in preference to Marxist approach of *class struggle*?

A. Class struggle is there always. One cannot deny it or put it aside. But the solution need no longer be one of violence or struggle or hatred: and that's where Gandhiji's peaceful approach, friendly and constructive approach, comes in. As I have already explained to you, Marx was conditioned by his times where there was no democracy or franchise, no working class movement and—well, simply no means of resolving inequalities and equalising society other than struggle, don't you see? *So while not denying or repudiating class contradictions, we want to deal with the problem in a peaceful and co-operative way by lessening rather than increasing these conflicts and trying to win over people instead of threatening to fight them or destroy them.* Gandhiji perhaps wasn't conscious of this class struggle aspect in the way you or I are. But his solutions are more applicable to our time and, particularly, our land. Our history and traditions show this way—that is, the advantage of the peaceful, friendly and co-operative solutions.

There is one more factor which comes into this picture of class struggles and wars and all that. It is the atom bomb and, of course, its positive aspect in nuclear energy. Now while nuclear energy holds out tremendous hopes for human advancement, the atom bomb threatens to blow up civilization with one or two or three bangs—thus this emergence of such a destructive weapon makes conflict or war, be it in the form of class struggle or capitalist-socialist conflict, simply so disastrous that it is impossible to think of solutions in terms of violence at all. Hence, from any point of view, the concept of class struggles or wars has been out-dated as too dangerous at a time when not only nations but groups or even individuals can be put in possession of weapons of enormous destructive potentiality. So we have to appreciate and follow the Gandhian solution of synthesis, co-operation, co-existence and progressive equalisation.

Q. I believe, Mr Nehru, there you have stated the genesis of the doctrine of *Panch Sheel*, or the Five Foundations of Peaceful Co-existence, whereby you have sought to resolve international conflicts and reorganise world relations in the spirit of Gandhism. Now what I would like to know from you is *how you came to be such a faithful convert to the Gandhian outlook?* There appears to have been some change in your attitude from one of a critical follower to that of a passionate convert in the Forties. Since you have mentioned the atom bomb, is it possible that the emergence of this appalling weapon of destruction brought about a radical change in your pre-1940 thinking? Or was it perhaps the crucifixion of Gandhiji that transformed you into his most loyal disciple?

A. I don't know. It is difficult to analyse oneself. The atom bomb, of course, affected my mental outlook a great deal, but not in the particular aspect you mentioned. The transformation has been a gradual one. This atom bomb necessarily represents a very powerful influence not only in its painful consequences but by way of the advent of a new power, enormous energy which could be used or misused, and which does affect one's thinking and outlook. It changes anyone's thinking about the future and what can happen in the future.

Take this issue of class struggle we were discussing. Now, there are classes, and obviously those classes are in conflict. Their interests are in conflict. Therefore, a struggle comes about. That cannot be denied. The point is, whether in order to put an end to class struggle, you should intensify it and resolve it, or liquidate it, through conflict and violence. Well, that comes in the way, first of all, of my basic approach that as far as possible conflict should be resolved and violence avoided. This is not a *denial* of class struggle, but the *removal* of class struggle through *other* means than conflict and violence. And that has always been part of our approach: not due to the atom bomb or Gandhiji's murder, but something basic and fundamental.

I think that to some extent we have succeeded in using this solution effectively, whether it be in the cases of princes or landlords. I don't imagine we have converted all the princes, but they are bound down to certain conditions and pressures which are rising all the time, pressures from the people, pressures from the Government, so that it becomes relatively easy to come to terms with them. In that sense, we have abolished Zamindari, the big landlord system. We gave them compensation, but that was no compensation for the standards they had been used to. They did not like it and there was conflict, but it was resolved without anything like a big struggle.

Now there is conflict between the Private Sector and the growing Public Sector, but I'm sure that too will be resolved peacefully and co-operatively.

So it can all be done in the Gandhian way. Sometimes conflict may come. That is a different matter. But that is not a big-scale conflict, but rather a local conflict. So while recognising the fact that there is a class, a privileged class, a class dominating other classes, like the working people and the peasantry and the middle-classes, and having a genuine desire to put an end to all such inequalities and disparities, I do not think the right way to do it is by accentuating the differences and solving them by struggle. Even if apparently we succeed in doing so, you leave a bad train behind. It really comes back to the *means* and *ends* business.

Q. So this conversion of yours to the Gandhian solution was there before the atom bomb destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki and changed the course of History?

A. My outlook has always been against conflict, particularly conflict with violence. But I do think of the atom bomb—or rather atomic energy, which represents such vast power coming to the world, has changed the whole context of life—the prospect of future life and so all our theories of the past, whether economic or any other, have to be reviewed in this new context. First of all, of course, one has to think in the context of the possibility of war which can now put an end to almost everything.

Q. Hence comes your insistence on Co-existence?

A. Well, Co-existence was there all the time.

Q. Even before the Forties?

A. Naturally it was there all the time and, in fact, it dates back to the days of Ashoka and Buddha. Gandhiji made it a part of the ends and means business. *It is a part, if I may say so, of the basic process of Indian thought the basis of which is to live and let live.* I don't say Indians are angels, but anyhow Indian thought is good. So this philosophy of Co-existence flows from our history, though it receives powerful support from present day developments when war might mean the total destruction of humankind.

VIII

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CO-EXISTENCE

Q. I think this brings us to the most glorious chapter of Indian history since Independence—that is, our Foreign Policy based upon Non-alignment and Peaceful Co-existence. Our brilliant record of uncompromising devotion to peace fits into the very revealing analysis you have given me of the historical continuity of our basic approach and philosophy. What is unfortunate, however, is that at a time when History itself has confirmed the Indian Foreign Policy, doubts are being cast on its very basis because of the new Sino-Indian crisis added to the old Indo-Pakistan dispute.

A. Well, a good policy doesn't become bad because it runs into trouble with a restless or aggressive neighbour. It merely puts it to a test, and we are sure it will overcome the challenge.

Q. Your robust optimism is most encouraging, sir. Nevertheless, the critics of your policy aver that these disputes with our neighbours have left permanent scars on what is called the Bandung spirit of Asian-African co-existence and co-operation. In this context, I would like to know whether

you consider this condition of enmity or unfriendliness between Asian neighbours as a passing episode or something that has come to stay permanently. The reference is particularly to our relations with China and Pakistan.

A. Obviously, we of India or any other country cannot live in a climate of permanent hostility or unfriendliness in terms of history. If one looks at these disputes with Pakistan or China with any kind of perspective, it is but natural that we have to be, and want to be, friends with all neighbouring countries. It has always been our policy—and, mind, you, a policy inspired by no momentary whim but dictated by our history and geography and culture—to be friendly with Pakistan and China and develop closer and more co-operative relations with all neighbouring countries and, indeed, with the whole world for that matter. It is unfortunate that certain conflicts and difficulties have arisen, but it would be very foolish to look forward to a state of permanent hostility with any country. We certainly don't do so.

Q. You sounded rather defeatist during a speech at Khatmandu [sic] when you asked: *WHERE IS PANCH SHILA?*⁵⁸ Have you lost or mislaid the *Panch Shila*, Mr Nehru?

A. Oh no! Certainly not! *Panch Shila* is a good and sound principle and must remain as the only sensible guide to international conduct. What I meant was that such an excellent principle was being talked about but not acted upon universally.

Q. True, sir. What is our answer to the Chinese accusation that the source of all this Sino-Indian trouble is Delhi's breach of its *Panch Shila* agreement with China on the issue of Tibet—which means, that after having recognised Tibet as a province of China, we continued to interfere in her domestic affairs so far as Tibet was concerned?

A. We have not interfered in Tibet or given any encouragement to the uprising nor have we any intention of doing so. All that we have done is to use our influence in a friendly way to persuade the Chinese to go slow in the matter of reforms and avoid repression. We tried to convince them that it is impossible to make good Communists of the Tibetans that even reforms, necessary as they be, work better when they come from persuasion and education rather than coercion or imposition. Can this be called intervention? We agree with them

58. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 542-543.

that the rebellion as such must be crushed, but repression is another matter. It creates a crisis which boils over and flows into our country with the Dalai Lama and all the refugees.

Tibet, of course, is part of China, but Mr Chou himself told me that it was not a province of China, and would not be treated as such, that Tibetans were not Chinese but Han people different from the Chinese people and that, therefore, the Peking Government would consider Tibet as an autonomous region of China and treat it as such.

We have, of course, no authority or interest in Tibet, nor do we claim any. At the same time, the fact remains that Tibet is a holy land for Hindus and Buddhists and, as such, it has become part of the consciousness of India. It is a spiritual and sentimental rather than political attachment to Mansarovar and the holy shrines, Buddhism and the institution of the Dalai Lama; and when these come under repression or violence, powerful reactions follow among our people, to which the Government cannot remain unresponsive.

The Tibetans are certainly backward, feudal, maybe difficult and unbending—all that granted, but can you really impose reforms upon such a difficult community without persuasion and consent? It only creates emotional resistance and physical clashes.

Q. I think that's where the different ideas of reform by coercion and reform by persuasion come to a test. Purely from academic interest, may I know what Mr Nehru would have done in the circumstances if he were the Prime Minister of China?

A. The real trouble, as I see it, is that there is no bridge of understanding between the Tibetans and the Chinese. Such a bridge—I mean, of mental and emotional links—must somehow be built. In the meantime, I would forget Communism, slow down the pace of reform and, first of all, try to create mutual understanding. I would help the Tibetans to set the pace for their own reforms and make all possible concessions to their social and nationalist sentiments with due consideration of the fact that for centuries Tibet has been an island isolated from the world and its progress.

After all, the Tibetans are racially distinct from the Chinese. Historically, also, Tibet and China have been involved in some sort of eternal conflict. Do you know there have been times when Tibet has occupied China and even when the Chinese dominated Tibet, the Lamas exercised a great deal of spiritual influence on the Chinese themselves?

These factors—historical, racial and religious, as well as the existing mental and emotional barriers—have to be understood in order to bridge the gulf

between Peking and Lhasa. We naturally tried to help both towards such an understanding and that does not constitute any interference.

Q. The validity of your approach certainly seems to be proven by the Tibetan mess. But what is the solution?

A. The solution, I suppose, is Tibetan autonomy in the Chinese State. Apart from the historical, religious and emotional factors, Tibetan terrain makes it impossible for anybody to dominate or colonise these people.

Q. Now, sir, I have spared you questions in relation to the Foreign Policy of India as for me that is really a subject that abides no question or criticism. I guess you are at your finest in the conduct of the country's international relations because this foreign policy you have formulated is a perfect reflection of our history, geography, religions, cultures and other traditions no less than the contemporary urges and imperatives. And its main principles are fairly well known—that is, independence of power blocs or non-alignment, positive support to all freedom movements, particularly in Asia and Africa; anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racialism; the gradual expansion of the area of peace as an antidote to cold and hot wars; and of course the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom. Only recently I was discussing this subject with a very eminent American commentator. He paid you tribute for your personal effort in bringing Eisenhower and Krushchev together to think if not act in terms of peaceful co-existence, and then he made a significant and revealing remark. He said: *Whether Mr Nehru goes to the Summit or not is not very important, for his philosophy will in any case dominate any such conference and he will remain its spiritual if invisible Chairman.* In this context, I would be grateful for any basic solution you might have to offer to the problems that bedevil the world?

A. You are putting me in an awkward position by bringing in this reference to the Summit and my being the Chairman—invisible, spiritual and all that! I can assure you I have no intention of being anything of that sort. It is true, of course, that we in India have evolved a foreign policy in keeping with the traditional background and temper of the country, which also stands up to the needs of contemporary history. This provides it with strength and power beyond our economic or military potential. Also we are fortunate in holding a pivotal position between Western Asia, South Asia and the Far East. Therefore, we cannot escape certain responsibilities of an international nature and we try to discharge them

to the best of our ability. All this is there and, also, I think the approach and philosophy we have inherited from Ashoka, Gandhi and other great thinkers and rulers—the philosophy of live and let live, of non-violence, tolerance and co-existence—provides the only practical solution to the problem of these times.

Q. The *Panch Shila* approach?

A. The *Panch Shila* approach of peaceful co-existence and non-interference between states, religions or ideologies. We have the advantage of some historical experience of this strategy which is basically a peaceful, co-operative and constructive strategy and, I may add, particularly suited to times when nuclear weapons have more or less outlawed the other solution of war and the other military approach. So we have something like a solution to offer for the troubles, passions and conflicts some powers are involved in. It would be totally unrealistic to suggest that India possesses some magic or mantra to end these evils, but it is our responsibility as members of the human family to advocate a course of action which might lessen international tensions and ultimately remove the sources and causes of conflict.

Q. Exactly, sir—and what is this course of action you would recommend?

A. It is not so much a course of action as a new mental approach, not any kind of military or “cold war” approach, but a peaceful approach, followed by political and economic policies in tune with it. In our opinion, the Panch Sheel or Five Foundations of Peaceful Co-existence offers the correct approach. Now this application of Panch Sheel as a code of international conduct requires a change of mind and heart to be realistic and fruitful.

First of all, the fact must be realised that recent scientific and technological advances and the discovery of nuclear and super-nuclear weapons have simply ruled out wars as means of solving international problems. For war today means total destruction of humanity, without victory or profit to any nation or bloc of nations. Once war is ruled out, its associates of “cold war”, etc., must be removed from the human mind and spirit. Next we might put an end to warlike threats and postures. Even though we may differ from others, it’s no use indulging in all the madness of political slogans and ideological condemnations, angry criticisms and all that. We must accept ideas even if we dislike them, provided they do not come in our way. We must realise how absurd it is for half the world to call the other half all black or evil. This sort of thing used to happen in the old days of religious wars. Then the conflicts of naturally exclusive faiths ended and a new spirit of toleration and co-existence developed. Today there is no reason why rival ideological and economic and social theories should not grow

up and learn to live and let live. My view is that all this ideological conflict has been outmoded by the technological revolution our world is undergoing: only people locked in the 'cold war' crisis do not see this fact. So what is really necessary is a change of outlook.

Q. Do you see this change coming about, Mr Nehru?

A. It is. It is all the time. Take the United States and the Soviet Union. I have always maintained that there is so much in common between these two great powers that all this business of "cold war" is altogether unrealistic and artificial. Once they begin talking as they have, despite occasional breakdowns and frustrations, the ground will be cleared of all the wreckage of ten years of suspicion and fear and what might be called areas of agreement will become visible. They might discover that the area of disagreement was really insignificant and all this tragedy and waste of "cold war" need not have happened at all. When they realise this fact which, I think, is basic, their minds and hearts will be cleansed of fear and suspicion, which are the causes and sources of wars, and in their place might come, mutual trust, understanding and tolerance. This has still not come about: and that was the principle reason why the Summit broke down. Once this happens, disarmament, nuclear weapons ban and the rest will follow. I have no doubt of that. So the principle of Summit conferences must not be abandoned merely because of the initial setback.

Now take Germany. It seems to be the main issue of controversy at the Summit and elsewhere. The Germans are extraordinarily able people in the organisation for peace, war or anything. And I happen to know that there is a great deal of fear among the allies of Germany herself—of history repeating itself, maybe with another aggression. This is a very real fear. But when I express it to people, I find that the other side suffers from the reverse fear of an invasion from the Soviet Union! So, all this is a psychosis of fear and suspicion which lead us to do things we are afraid of doing and, therefore, the main job should be to rid the world of this evil.

So, all these problems and crises are there, piled up one on top of another, but they can be solved if the correct approach is made—that is, not by way of military threats and conflicts, positions of power and strength and so on and so forth, but in a peaceful and co-operative way, always keeping two ideas in mind: *first, that war must be outlawed and, secondly, all outstanding problems must be peacefully negotiated and settled. For this, of course, the necessary climate of co-existence has to be created.* As I say repeatedly, peace is not a physical abstention from war, it is an attempt to lessen tensions and create a climate of peace all over the world.

Q. May I know what India is doing to create this new climate?

A. It has always been our policy to build bridges and create links between the opposing groups of nations and at the same time expand the area of peace.

Q. Bridges and links of Co-existence?

A. Yes, we always preach co-existence: co-existence in the national field and of course co-existence in the international field. Now what is this co-existence? It is a mental or spiritual attitude which synthesises differences and contradictions, tries to understand and accommodate different religions, ideologies, political, social and economic systems, and refuses to think in terms of conflict or military solutions. For us in India, a large country with so many different religions, linguistic groups, thoughts, habits, etc., co-existence has become an imperative for our existence as a nation or survival itself. That is perhaps the reason, a historical reason born of our experiences, which compels us to recommend this approach based on tolerance to the international conflicts and tensions.

Q. That gives me an idea and probably an answer to the controversy as to why we had to forge the Commonwealth link after fighting the British out of power. Could the answer lie in our philosophy of co-existence and its first imperative of building bridges and forcing links?

A. The Commonwealth is certainly a form of free, uncommitted and non-binding association with the spirit of peaceful co-existence, a link or bridge which helps in bringing together nations for the purpose of co-operation and consolidation. Such associations are preferable to the more binding kind of alliance or blocs. We, of course consider the problem of our association with the Commonwealth in terms of independent nations coming together without any military or other commitments. There are no conditions attached except this desire to co-operate so far as it is consistent with the independence and sovereignty of each nation, one important factor about the Commonwealth association is that it reverses the other process of military or economic blocking together for what might be called the purposes of the "cold war". It has certain warmth of approach about it, regardless of the problems that beset any such association. There may be differences. There are. Nevertheless, the overall approach to such controversies is a friendly one which helps to tone down friction and difficulties. That, I think, is all to the good and a development worthy to be followed in other spheres, larger spheres, also.

Q. Let us hope so, sir. Fears are expressed in many quarters that this attachment or link of ours with the Commonwealth might obstruct our leadership of newly liberated Asia and Africa and may be also blunt our protest against certain racial and fascist developments in South, West and Central Africa.

A. We do not suffer from any such obstructions. As you probably know, I have myself denounced South African racialism from London itself as an evil development opposed to the whole concept of modern thinking. Our support to freedom and racial equality in Africa is a very natural urge that derives from our history. We desire no leadership or domination over any country, but we cannot remain unaffected by the highest single fact of contemporary history—that is, the resurgence of Asia and Africa. We are affected by this tremendous event because we are part of it, part of the movement and the revolution as well as part of the geography, at the very heart of these two continents, placed as we are in the centre of the Indian Ocean. And now that we are free and more and more countries are breaking out of colonialism, naturally we come together and re-establish old relationships with other countries in Western, Eastern and South-Eastern Asia and, of course, Africa also.

Our link with the Commonwealth does not restrict this historical development. On the contrary, I should say it helps it. After all, this is not a *British* Commonwealth or anything of that sort. The name itself repudiates any imperialist association. And if you consider the Commonwealth, population-wise or even nation-wise, more and more African nations, Asian nations, newly liberated, are coming into this association. All this is helpful, very helpful.

Q. To sum up this chapter, Mr Nehru, all that you have said and done in respect of our foreign relation based on the conclusion that Jawaharlal Nehru, apart from being the elected idol of one-seventh of humanity has been playing a dual global role: first, as a symbol of international co-existence and, second, as a liberalizing influence and an ally of Mr Krushchev and the anti-Stalinist element in that context within the Communist world itself. Would you agree with this analysis?

A. Well, you don't expect me to talk about myself!

Q. I am sorry. I will put the issue to you in a different way. You have taken some pains to explain to me your evaluation of the progress made by India in the domestic sphere during the independence years. I would appreciate a similar report on our foreign policy and its achievements or failures?

A. It is difficult to say anything definite or concrete in regard to a subject of this nature. For example, we have been trying very earnestly to reduce world tension and bring about a climate of peace, wherever possible. In Korea and Indo-China, we have played some role in bringing hostilities to an end by way of negotiated settlements. So far as big powers involved in the "cold war" are concerned, we have tried to get them out of the rut to see the other party's point of view; and, I think, we have done something to show to both the Communist and non-Communist powers that the world is not just made of colours that are black and white, that there are browns all over the place and, therefore, we of Asia need not be committed to one or the other block or ideology. There is room for a third ideology and also this "area of peace" we have sought to establish and extend between the warring blocs. This has acted as a sort of a bridge. Well, you see, Krushchev came here and saw that there was a non-Communist part of the world willing to accept him and co-operate with him and ready to receive the same treatment from the Communist world. When Eisenhower came, he also found that, though uncommitted, we were a very friendly people. This has perhaps helped to blunt the sharper edges of the two ideologies.

And, of course, there are failures or temporary set-backs in our policy. Our relations with Pakistan were bad, but they are improving. Now China has come into the picture and we have this frontier trouble. Goa and Portugal are there. But the important thing is that we propose to resolve these problems by peaceful means.

Q. And we also propose to set an example to the rest of the world, sir?

A. I don't know. Foreign policy depends ultimately on internal conditions and developments. Internal solidarity and solvency are, therefore, necessary if we are to play any effective role in world affairs.

Q. One final question in this section, sir. What is your answer to the criticism that the new situation created by China has invalidated Indian neutralism, or rather, non-alignment?

A. Well, China apart, I think recent events have rather helped to strengthen the Indian stand. First of all, let us be clear that *our policy is not one of neutralism*. We can be neutral only in times of war. If one accepts the fact of a country being neutral in peacetime, presumably the other countries are at war or they are belligerent! *Our policy really is one of non-alignment in terms of military alliances*. That we consider to be a sound policy which should be followed by all countries. It is also a policy most helpful to the cause of world peace. Once

you admit the basic fact that today a major war such as would exterminate humanity is not desirable, then it follows that military alliances, which are the children of the "cold war" approach, are also not desirable inasmuch as they do not promote that climate of accommodation and peaceful settlement of international problems which is the objective of all the great and small powers of the world today.

Q. In any case, sir, these military alliances themselves do not present any happy or healthy portrait of themselves today!

A. Non-alignment, like *Panch Sheel*, does not necessarily fall simply because this or that country fails to observe the right and proper code of international behaviour, just the same as truth is not sacrificed merely because somebody tells lies! The Five Principles are the obvious and righteous principles of international behaviour, and we do not propose to give them up because some countries do not practice them. So also non-alignment has nothing to do with the conduct of any particular country. For us it is a historical imperative and we propose to abide by it.

IX AFTER NEHRU, WHAT?

Q. Finally, Mr Nehru, I would crave your indulgence in regard to a few personal questions. They might embarrass you, but they relate to controversies which are inescapable for a person of your eminence. Your critics are saying that Mr Nehru is now an old and tired man, who has been compelled by objective conditions to reconcile himself to a world of evil, his attitude nowadays is one of keeping things going as best as he can while he is alive, and when he is gone—well, to hell with everything. This, sir, is a very crude way of putting it, but still the issue of "AFTER NEHRU, WHAT?" remains an increasingly live and burning question. Would you care to discuss it?

A. How can I discuss it, really, when I think that the way the issue is put, is wrong, all wrong?

Q. It may be so, but your biographer, Frank Moraes, is writing a new book with this precise title.

A. Maybe, maybe, but still it is all wrong, this kind of speculation. A journalist may try to look ahead and see what might happen. He is free like anybody else

to make his guesses, but this business of "AFTER NEHRU, WHO?" if it refers to individuals, is all completely wrong and very stupid. If on the other hand, it refers to the kind of conditions that exist now or that may exist then, in the future, then it is a legitimate exercise if you like.

Q. Exactly, sir. Would you care to indulge in that exercise?

A. Not in that sense, because I don't think it helps, because I am interested not in picking out individuals and giving them training. Naturally, I would like the right people to be trained and all that, but I cannot function in the sense of somebody going to be my heir or successor. I simply cannot understand the logic of this sort of thing. Even if I try to nominate somebody as my successor, what would be the use of it? My nomination as such would mean nothing to the people and circumstances might come in the way even if the people adopt my choice.

Q. But Gandhiji nominated you as his successor, didn't he?

For Whom It Fits



The Bangalore session of the Congress would also consider the question of a successor to Pandit Nehru, said a report.

[Left from above: Morarji Desai ; G.L. Nanda; Jagjivan Ram; L.B. Shastri; S.K. Patil; V.K.Krishna Menon]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 17 JANUARY 1960)

A. It is true that Gandhiji on one or two or three occasions mentioned something about me. But if I may say so, it was not Gandhiji's recommendation that put me in a certain position. It was a whole group of circumstances going back twenty or thirty years to my connection with the national movement, the part I played in the country and the struggle, all that put me in this position, though of course Gandhiji's blessing influenced people's minds. Undoubtedly it did so.

So, the point is not whether I nominate some person to succeed me or train this or that individual. The real issue is how far, in the changing circumstances of today, we have succeeded in building *a solid base for our development*. If there is such a solid base, a democratic base, a secular and socialistic base—that is, broadly a deep, sound and self-confident foundation for our ideals and approaches, I am not at all worried as to what happens at the top and who takes over. The necessity of a base is all that matters: for without it, you simply have nothing to build upon. And nothing can happen.

Q. Very true, sir. Since we are on a very important point, may I interrupt to ask what exactly you consider to be a solid base for Indian development in the right direction and the continuity of our national policies?

A. Well, first of all, the establishment of a democratic apparatus with adult franchise—that is, parliamentary democracy. Secondly, I think the secular foundation of our democracy. Then a sound base for economic development with the Five-Year Plans, and heavy industries, particularly machine-making plants, a strong public sector commanding the strategic heights of our economy, and the foundation for an independent, self-developing economy. You may say also a Socialistic Pattern of Society based on the principles of gradual economic equalization and social justice.

Q. Thank you, sir. Are you confident that such a base has been established?

A. That is a matter for guesswork. It is being established, of course, all the time. At the same time, there are separationist and destructive tendencies also at play. After all, this country, India, represents over a century at this particular moment. You might even go further and say that it represents the Stone Age in relation to some tribal people in the middle of the twentieth century. In another sense, India represents social urges which also develop gradually, you may call them Right, Left, Middle or what not, progressive or static or simply reactionary, these words too are not completely helpful. *But what one has to be watchful about is the existence of certain elements in India—that is to say, fascist elements*. Though they may not use the word fascist, but their outlook amounts

to that. These elements would like to take advantage of anything like chaos or a breakdown to seize power. All that is there. We can't help it. We can only think in terms of some insurance or guarantee against any such development. How what kind of guarantee or insurance can we have? The answer is: *a proper base*. If that is there, nobody can play about with the country.

Now in Pakistan—I am citing Pakistan by way of an illustration only and not criticising Pakistan—there has been no such base all these years. They are good people like us, but the main difference between India and Pakistan was this: in India, the leaders of the national movement, who had struggled for independence and being conditioned by this struggle came to know the people; naturally they developed contact with the people and as a result emerged some kind of social policy in response to the socio-economic urges of the people. In Pakistan, on the other hand, the leaders who came to the front were not connected with the independence movement at all. They represented broadly the landlord class to begin with. Hence the Government was not in favour of change at all, but desired to preserve the vested interests of some people. They had no popular base, except—well, on the anti-India basis.

Therefore, while India and Pakistan in a sense started with the same base, maybe not quite the same base, but still the same people, differences at the base widened. The people are the same, but there has been no link between the leadership and the people in Pakistan. A leader may be popular or not. I am not talking about individuals being popular. I am stressing the basic link connecting the leadership with the people which, all said and done, subsists in India and provides faith and strength to the nation, in spite of our numerous weaknesses, failings and drawbacks. Consequently, I am not anxious about individuals in the matter of continuity, succession and all that. I always want good individuals. I am always looking out for them. But this matter of a broad national, popular base is much more important from the point of view of my approach.

X

VISION OF TOMORROW

Q. I remember your saying somewhere that the greatest achievements of outstanding Indians—like Ashoka, Akbar and Gandhi—lay in the manner in which they brought about a synthesis between different religions and ideologies and that it might still be the privilege of India to bring about such a synthesis between the conflicts of our own times. Would you say how we propose to bring about such a consummation?

A. When I made this statement, I wasn't thinking in terms of myself or the

present generation in India, but speculating on a prospect of the future. At the same time, I will say this, that we have done something to show the world that the two mutually exclusive ideologies of Capitalism or Capitalist Democracy on the one hand, and Communism, on the other, do not have any monopoly of approach to the main issues of production and distribution. There is a *third way* which takes the best from all existing systems—the Russian, the American and others—and seeks to create something suited to one's own history and philosophy.

For example, today there is almost universal understanding and appreciation of what we are trying to do on the economic plane—that is, *planning under a democratic pattern of socialism*. This has set a new pattern for Asian and African development and it is significant that economists and other experts from both the worlds, particularly the West, to which economic planning is something foreign, are extremely interested in our development plans and progress. We are giving a lot of consideration to this issue and are tackling it in a big way with organised thought behind it. *This makes of India itself a kind of an area of agreement between the opposing ideological forces*. Without boasting about it, we can claim to be the only under-developed country doing this job in a big creative way.

Q. So one would be correct in concluding that looking back on the panorama of the progress made by the country during nearly a half century of active public performance, today in the evening of your life your faith in the nation, confidence in its people and optimism in regard to the future remain as robust as ever?

A. The answer to this question depends very considerably on the words you have used—that is, faith, confidence and optimism. And all three remain as strong today, in the evening of my life, as they were before. I have always had great faith, tremendous confidence, in the Indian people as a whole, in the mass of the masses. I may chide them or curse them. I do frequently. But I believe they have a certain quality and character, a basic cultural tradition which makes them function. I am talking about the masses, of course, and not the odd individuals. They may be conservative; they may be backward in industrial techniques. They can mend or learn all that. But something more important and remarkable they possess and that is *a certain quality of character* which, I think, is of great value to them and to us. Speaking for myself, I derive strength and sustenance from my contacts with them. Whatever love or assistance one gives them one gets back from them in abundant measure.

Now, you mention my optimism. I am basically an optimist and I have

never found any reason to be anything else. You see, when a person works, the man might be working as a Prime Minister or whatever be his vocation, one can work as a machine doing jobs which one has been doing, sort of working in a rut. That is not much good. Although every person works eighty to ninety per cent as a machine, one must have a sense of function—I mean to say, an urge, a function of doing something that is worthwhile, in spite of drawbacks and heartbreaks. One must have a sense of feeling of thrill about the work. The moment one loses this part of it, one becomes—well, just a machine. The machine may be good, but what's the use of something without heart, soul, faith or joy?

So far as I am concerned, I don't feel old or tired or dejected because I have a very considerable feeling of thrill, adventure and excitement about odd jobs I do. Mind you, I don't say this about everything I do. Sometimes, of course, it's very frustrating and disappointing, but by and large I have a sensation of thrill in working and watching the changes that are being brought about in India and the Indian people. This has always been a most exhilarating function for me to see the country changing and a whole people in movement.

Q. I am happy to record these very encouraging words from your mouth and I can now see why an old man of seventy, in the conventional jargon, keeps so young and fresh. It gives us tremendous hope for the future. Now, sir, one more and the final question about the future. I have had your reflections on the Industrial Revolution, and on our own Scientific and Technological Era, but even as we are talking Sputniks and Luniks are carrying us into a new epoch of inter-planetary adventures and conquests. I would like to know how your mind reacts to these fantastic new discoveries?

A. It is a wonderful and exciting prospect bringing an altogether new dimension to the human mind which, I am sorry in a way, I will not be there to see and share. The world today is going through mighty changes, revolutionary transformations. One cannot imagine what physical and biological upsets are coming, but an important thing to remember is that these extraordinary changes have made the necessity of social change more paramount than ever before. With science leaping into space and human society clutching on to conventional approaches, there is going to be very serious maladjustment. One hears of it already in the more advanced countries.

At the same time, I suppose, social and economic structures will change as science transforms the functions of humanity. It is usual for the form to adapt itself to the function. So let us hope that as civilization advances with science it

will discover for itself a new base in new patterns of conduct, new forms of collective life and a broad and tolerant philosophy of synthesis. Let us hope at least that the existing inequalities and disparities between man and man and nation and nation will gradually disappear, removing the main cause of conflicts and wars. *What the world is groping for today seems to be a new dimension in human existence, a new balance. Only a fully integrated man with spiritual depth and moral strength will be able to meet the challenges of the new times.* Material advance without spiritual balance can be disastrous. Man might lose his sense of function and turn a human robot instead of a human being.

Of one aspect of these new discoveries I am convinced. They have made absolutely imperative for the mind of man to switch over from thoughts of war, conflict and violence to a determined will for peace, co-existence and co-operation. More than ever before, the philosophy of toleration, compassion and wisdom that Buddha preached 2,000 years ago has become necessary today. In international relations, one has to repudiate the military approach or military solutions altogether. There should be an immediate and unanimous resolution to ban all nuclear tests and proceed with gradual disarmament.

Q. I hope the Big Powers will still read and heed this writing on the wall of our time. Since the wisdom of your advice flows from the fountain of Indian thought and philosophy, would you say how India is emerging in the context of this revolutionary change brought about by science and technology?

A. The outlook of peace, tolerance and co-existence is in tune with Indian thought and philosophy and, as I have explained, there is no other way for us either in domestic or world affairs. These advances in atomic energy, jet power, rocketry and space travel have progressed so rapidly in the past twenty or thirty years that they are changing the whole context of human life. While technology has leapt forward, it has left politics behind. The problem, therefore, is to get over the gap between thinking of the past and the realities of the present. We in India are in many ways behind the times. But the Industrial Revolution, which changed the pattern of life for Europe and America, will come to India. It is already coming. But behind it is the faster revolution initiated by the new technology and new science. So we are sort of marching ahead at three different stages. Nobody knows where it will all lead to. Material development will come, of course; but is that enough? We require a certain amount of ethical and moral strength to meet the challenge of these powerful physical changes. Although energy and power are mighty forces, they have no morals. They are a-moral. The moral basis has to be supplied by the human being who uses this power and energy. What I mean to say is, this new force in the hands of man can be

used for evil purposes as well as good, and the only insurance against its being used as a power for evil is the moral level of humanity which employs it. The issue is whether man is going to master and control these powerful forces or whether the latter get the better of him to destroy man and his civilization.

This is one reason why I want to stress the importance of our peaceful tradition which Gandhiji resurrected into a practical and effective philosophy of action. For if the dangers of maladjustment arising from the failure of human society to adapt itself to the needs of the new technological civilization exist elsewhere, they are more applicable to Indian society which is largely accustomed to orthodox ways and outmoded approaches. Yet we have this splendid tradition of tolerance and compassion which might tide us across the crisis of our civilization.

There is another aspect of this matter which has been causing me some anxiety since Hitler and Mussolini came into the picture. Leaving aside the new forces that science has put into the hands of man, I am surprised how a man like Hitler can carry the masses with him for evil ends with the help of this highly developed modern propaganda, machinery. That is why I have a revulsion against all that smacks of a dictatorship, regimentation and authoritarianism.

Now these propaganda devices are entering, in a small way but a dangerous way, into even normal commercial advertising. Not in India, but in America and elsewhere, it is so and it might come here too. Their exploitation of the sub-conscious mind of humanity, about which Aldous Huxley⁵⁹ wrote in his books *Brave New World* and *Brave New World Revisited*, has very dangerous potentialities and no one really knows where it may lead mankind.

Q. The new strategy of hitting a man below the belt of his awareness?

A. Yes. And so all these are facts which are quite novel to human experience. They are really leading us into a new world about which we know little or nothing. All that we can do to meet this challenge is to shed the dogmas and theories we have inherited from the past, particularly those that recommend conflict and violence, and develop the spiritual character of humanity jointly with material prosperity so as to create a fully integrated human being. Only thus can we meet the tests and challenges of tomorrow.

59. English novelist and critic.

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

(i) Bangalore Session

11. To S. Nijalingappa: Outsize Rostrums¹

January 5, 1960

My dear Nijalingappa,

I am alarmed to learn that the rostrums for the Congress Session² and the Subjects Committee are very large sized and that you intend putting donors and others on the rostrum. This will be an innovation which is not at all desirable. We have been objecting for a long time to large rostrums where many people congregate. To have donors there also would be even worse. I do hope that you will limit the size of the rostrum.

As for the Subjects Committee meeting, it will be quite absurd to have donors sitting on the rostrum.

So far as I am concerned, I shall not sit on the rostrum at all and will sit with the delegates.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Resolution on India's Frontiers³

Draft Version

The Congress welcomes the agreements arrived at between India and Pakistan in regard to their eastern⁴ and western frontiers.⁵ This is a happy augury for better relations between the

Final Version

The Congress welcomes the agreements arrived at between India and Pakistan in regard to their eastern and western frontiers. This is a happy augury for better relations between the

1. Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore State.

2. 16-17 January 1960.

3. Drafted on 11 January 1960 and passed on 16 January 1960.

4. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 485-487 and SWJN/SS/55/pp. 374-377.

5. A joint communiqué issued in New Delhi on 11 January at the conclusion of the Conference announced the settlement of four of the five disputes relating to India's western border with Pakistan. For details, see SWJN/SS/57/pp. 371-372 and 374-378.

peoples of these countries who have been so closely associated with each other in the past. It trusts that trade and commerce and other contacts will grow between India and Pakistan.

While India's frontiers with Pakistan have become more peaceful as a result of these agreements, her frontiers with China have lately become danger zones and even the integrity of India has been attacked. Aggression has taken place and a considerable part of Indian territory has been occupied by Chinese forces. Incidents have occurred involving the loss of many Indian lives. This has created a grave situation which requires all the wisdom, strength and determination of our people. India adheres firmly to its policy of peace and of the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods. But this policy does not and cannot mean submission to aggression or to anything which challenges the integrity and honour of India. While every step should be taken to settle these problems through peaceful methods, it has become incumbent that the country's defence organisation should be speeded up to enable it to face any challenge that may come. It is even more important that the people of the country should face any such challenge with unity, dignity and strength; and that India's economic progress should be speeded up.

peoples of those countries, who have been so closely associated with each other in the past. It trusts that trade and commerce and other contacts will grow between India and Pakistan.

While India's frontiers with Pakistan have become more peaceful, her frontiers with China have lately become danger-zones and even the integrity of India has been violated. Aggression has taken place and parts of Indian territory have been occupied by Chinese forces. Incidents have occurred involving the loss of Indian lives. This has created a grave situation which requires all the wisdom, strength and determination of our people. The Congress supports the stand taken by the Government and its policy of peace and the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods. This policy does not and cannot mean, as has been made clear by Government, submission to aggression or to anything which challenges the integrity and honour of India. While every step should be taken to settle these problems through peaceful methods, it has become incumbent that the country's defence organisation should be strengthened with speed. The pace of India's economic progress must be quickened. The Congress calls upon the people of the country to face every challenge with unity, dignity and strength.

13. Resolution on International Affairs⁶

Draft Version

The Congress welcomes the new developments in international affairs which have led to a lessening of tension and which hold promise of further progress in this direction. The Congress offers its congratulations to the great countries which have taken a lead in breaking through the barriers of "Cold War" and are endeavouring to bring about some settlement of the problems which have afflicted the world ever since the last Great War. It trusts that at the "Summit" conference that is proposed, substantial progress will be made to this end and, more particularly, towards disarmament.⁷ These developments are in line with the policy of peace which India has pursued unwaveringly and are therefore particularly welcome to the Congress. It is widely recognised today that war in this nuclear and inter-planetary age is a total anachronism, cannot solve any problems and can only bring uttermost disaster to the world.

The Congress particularly hopes that the testing, production and use of nuclear and like weapons will be totally banned. Any delay in taking this step will add to the difficulties of the problem and to the dangers that already exist.

Final Version

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The Congress, particularly, hopes that the testing, production and use of nuclear and like weapons will be totally banned. Any delay in taking this step will add to the difficulties to the problem and to the dangers that already exist. The Congress reaffirms

6. Drafted on 11 January 1960 and passed on 16 January 1960.

7. To start on 16 May 1960 at Paris.

The Congress re-affirms its faith in the policy of non-alignment and avoidance of military alliances.

The Congress welcomes the emergence into freedom of several new countries in Africa and sends its greetings and good wishes to them. It regrets, however, that the people of Algeria, who have gone through untold suffering in their desire for national freedom, have not yet achieved their objective. It sends its full sympathy to them in their struggle for national independence. It trusts that a peaceful solution of this problem will be found soon.

The Congress further re-affirms its conviction that the people of Goa will be liberated from foreign colonial rule and thus the last vestige, of colonialism in India will disappear.

its faith in India's policy of non-alignment and avoidance of military alliances. The Congress welcomes the emergence into freedom of several new countries in Africa and sends its greetings and good wishes to them. The Congress deplores the continuance of the policies of racial segregation and discrimination in certain parts of Africa. The Congress regrets that the people of Algeria, who have gone through untold suffering in their struggle for national independence, have not yet achieved their objective. It sends its full sympathy to them and trusts that a peaceful solution of this problem will be found soon.

The Congress further reaffirms its conviction that the people of Goa will be liberated from foreign colonial rule, thus ending the last vestige of colonialism in India.

14. Resolution on Planning and Development⁸

Draft Version

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the progress made in the economy of the country in spite of the stresses and strains which the country had to experience during the past year. This progress has taken place both in the agricultural and the industrial spheres and has established

Final Version

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the progress made in the economy of the country, in spite of the stresses and strains experienced during the past years. This progress has taken place both in the agricultural and the industrial spheres and has established a firm base for future

8. Drafted on 11 January 1960 and passed on 16 January 1960.

a firm base for future advance. The general policies and programmes laid down by the Congress as well as by the Planning Commission, and adopted by the Government, both for agricultural and industrial development have been widely appreciated and have justified themselves wherever effect has been given to them.

Nevertheless, considering the magnitude of the problems and the growing population of the country, the rate of progress has not been as fast as was intended and hoped for. It is imperative that this rate should be rapidly stepped up in order to lead to a dynamic economy. Criticisms have been made that the programmes laid down are not fully carried out and even the installed capacity is not adequately used. There appears to be a gap between these policies and programmes and their implementation which leads to delay and slows down the rate of progress. The imperative thing to do is to bring about speed, efficiency and integrity in the administrative set-up at all levels, so as to ensure that the programme laid down is carried out without delay. The administrative services in India are competent, but they have to function under rules and procedures which delay and which are not adequate to bring about rapid social and economic changes. These rules and procedures, therefore, should be modified wherever necessary, and brought into line with the requirements of a rapidly

advance. The general policies and programmes laid down by the Congress, as well as by the Planning Commission, and adopted by the Government, both for agricultural and industrial development, have been widely-appreciated and have justified themselves.

2. Nevertheless, considering the magnitude of the problems and the growing population of the country, the rate of progress has not been fast enough. It is necessary that this rate should be rapidly stepped up in order to lead to a dynamic economy. Criticisms have been made that the programmes laid down are not fully carried out and in some cases even the installed capacity is not adequately used. There appears to be a gap between policies and programmes and their implementation which slows down the rate of progress. Steps must be taken to ensure that the programmes laid down are carried out without delay and the progress is speeded up. Towards this end, it is imperative to have speed, efficiency and integrity in the administrative setup at all levels. The administrative services in India are competent, but they have to function under rules and procedures which cause delays and which are not suited for the purposes of rapid social and economic changes. These rules and procedures should be modified, wherever necessary, and brought into line with the requirements

changing economy. It should be understood that the mere laying down of right policies and programmes is not enough; the test is performance and implementation. It is by this test of performance that the work of individual officers of all grades should be judged, and praise or criticism made. While it is necessary that every officer should realise the importance of performance, it is equally necessary that an adequate amount of freedom should be given to him in the performance of his work, so that delays should not come in his way because of out of date rules and regulations. The entire temper of the administration as well as of the people generally has to change in order to face the great tasks before the country with faith, speed and determination.

The broad policies and programmes laid down which will no doubt be elaborated from time to time, are adequate; what is necessary is to concentrate on their implementation and to make such institutional changes as may be required. Where the State aims directly at major social and economic changes, it is inevitable that the bureaucratic apparatus of the State should grow in numbers, but there is always danger in an excess of bureaucracy, and a large number of minor officials are apt to come in the way of the very work for which they were intended. They tend to constitute a world in themselves, which is not in close contact with the people they serve. It is essential that there should

of a rapidly changing economy. It should be understood that the mere laying down of right policies and programmes is not enough; the test is performance and implementation. It is by this test of performance that the work of individual officers of all grades should be judged, and praise or criticism given. Responsibility should be fixed for specific tasks in relation to the programmes on particular individuals in the administration, and methods and procedures which cause delay and hamper initiative should be changed. The Congress feels strongly that the temper of the administration as well as of the people generally has to change in order to face the great tasks before the country with faith, speed and determination.

3. The broad policies and programmes laid down, which may need elaboration from time to time, are adequate; what is necessary is to concentrate on their implementation and to make such institutional changes as may be required. In a community which aims at major social and economic changes, it is inevitable that the administrative apparatus of the State should grow in size. But this growth should not be disproportionate as an excess of officials is apt to come in the way of the very work for which they were intended. As the administrative apparatus grows in size it tends to become isolated from the people and often ceases to be responsive to their needs. It is essential

be intimate contacts with the people in every sphere, and more especially in the agricultural sphere.

The objective to be aimed at in the near future is for the country to attain a self-sustaining and self-generating economy, both in agriculture and industry. It is only by the achievement of such an economy that the country can advance rapidly towards a Welfare State and the socialist pattern. The pace of progress has to be rapid enough not only to keep well ahead of the increasing population and provide basic necessities for the mass of our people who are in such dire need of them, but also to create an adequate surplus for investment for future growth. The advance already made in India, which is creditable from any standard and which has brought it near the stage of a higher economy, itself necessitates an intensive and rapid effort. The challenges and difficulties which have arisen on our north and north-eastern frontiers, further necessitate such intensification and concentration on economic development. Defence is ultimately a function of economic strength. The Second Five Year Plan must, therefore, be proceeded with to a successful completion, and the Third Plan should be of a magnitude which

that there should be intimate contacts between the people and the officials in every sphere, and this should be more especially so in the agricultural sphere. It is essential also for officials guiding policies and programmes to be aware of the problems of the people and to acquaint themselves with their real needs.

4. The objective to be aimed at in the near future is for the country to attain a self-sustaining and self-generating economy, both in agriculture and industry. It is only by the achievement of such an economy that the country can advance rapidly towards a Welfare State and the socialist pattern. The pace of progress has to be rapid enough; not only to keep well ahead of the increasing population and provide basic necessities for the mass of our people who are in such dire need of them, but also to create an adequate surplus for investment for future growth. The advance already made has brought the country nearer the stage of a higher economy. Further quickening of the progress would call for a more intensive and rapid effort. The challenges and difficulties which have arisen on our north and north-eastern frontiers, further necessitate such intensification and concentration on economic development. The defence of a nation ultimately depends on its economic strength. The Second Five-Year Plan must, therefore, be proceeded with to a successful completion, and the Third Plan should

should ensure the country reaching the stage of a changeover to a self-generating economy.

Such growth necessitates rapid development of agriculture as well as of industry. Progress in agricultural production is vital and must take place at a much more rapid pace than hitherto. There can be no doubt that this can be done as it has been demonstrated wherever the effort has been made. The steps that should be taken to this end are well known; what is necessary now is to intensify them and spread them all over the rural areas. Full utilisation of available irrigation facilities, better agricultural tools, the choice of good seeds, bunding, and the reclamation of saline usar lands through methods which are now established, can all be done without any considerable expenditure of public funds, and only an organised effort is needed. While major irrigation schemes are necessary, there is greater need to concentrate on small schemes which are cheaper and bring quick results. All this can only be done adequately through the cooperation of the peasantry who should be made to feel that they are doing this work for their own benefit. It is essential that officers of all grades in the rural areas should keep in intimate touch with the peasantry, take them into their confidence and learn from them what their problems and difficulties are. More particularly, the village level workers must maintain this intimate

be of a magnitude which should ensure the country reaching the stage of a changeover to a self-generation economy.

5. Such growth necessitates development of agriculture as well as of industry. Progress in agricultural production is vital and must take place at a much more rapid pace than hitherto. There can be no doubt that this can be done, as has been demonstrated wherever the effort has been made. The steps that should be taken to this end are well-known; what is now necessary is to carry them out with vigour and spread them all over the rural areas. Full utilisation of available irrigation facilities, better agricultural tools, use of good seeds, soil conservation and particularly contour-bunding, use of fertilizers, green manure and compost and reclamation of water-logged areas and saline and usar lands through methods which are now established, can all be done without any considerable expenditure of public funds, and only an organised effort is needed. While major irrigation schemes are necessary, there is greater need to concentrate on small schemes which are cheaper and bring quick results. All this should be reflected in progressive increase in the yield per acre. This can be effectively achieved through the cooperation of the entire peasantry who should be made to realise the extent of benefit which they can derive for themselves from these measures. Such cooperation would

touch. Their work must be judged by their achievements.

There is an enormous concealed productive power in the vast peasant population of India, and it should be our effort to release these productive forces and not merely rely on directions from above. Properly approached, the peasantry of India reacts favourably; if that reaction is not adequate, this indicates that the approach has not been proper. What is needed is good husbandry and modernisation of agricultural methods, and the peasant takes to them as soon as he is convinced and facilities are given to him for this purpose.

The Community Development movement has done great good to our rural areas, but it tends to become, by

become real only when the peasants themselves participate in the laying down of the programmes and targets of production. It is essential that officers of all grades in the rural areas should keep in intimate touch with the peasantry, take them into their confidence and learn from them what their problems and difficulties are. More particularly, the village-level workers must maintain this intimate touch. Their work must be judged by their achievements.

6. There is an enormous potential and unutilised productive power in the vast rural population of India, and efforts should be made to realise these productive forces. This should be achieved largely by the exercise of the peasants' own initiative and not by mere reliance on directions from above. Properly approached, the peasantry of India reacts favourably; if that reaction is not adequate, the approach has not been proper. What is needed is good husbandry and modernisation of agricultural methods; the peasant takes to them as soon as he is convinced and facilities are given to him for this purpose.

7. For efficient agriculture, for improvement of the economic position of the peasant and for giving him fuller occupation. It is essential that much greater attention be paid to animal husbandry and improvement of the cattle wealth of the country.

8. The Community Development movement has done great good to our rural areas. Recent criticisms

virtue of its size alone, unwieldy and unproductive of all that was expected of it. Recent criticisms of it, though often exaggerated, have considerable truth in them, and every effort should be made to vitalise this movement again and more particularly to make the workers in it individually responsible for the tasks that are allotted to them. In particular, they must function not as officers from above, but as colleagues of the peasantry they serve.

The last Session of the Congress at Nagpur passed a resolution on the agrarian organisational pattern.⁹ With this resolution, this Congress is in full agreement. It notes with appreciation the progress made in land reform as well as in cooperatives. It would stress, however, that the pace should be speeded up till every village has an efficient service cooperative which should not only help in agriculture, but also play an ever-increasing part in processing marketing, consumer trade and consumer industries. While service cooperatives are the immediate programme for every village, wherever it is desired by the farmers concerned and is considered feasible, cooperative farms should be developed. It should be realised that cooperation in all its forms is voluntary and requires training.

of it, though often exaggerated, have, however, considerable truth in them. Every effort should be made to revitalise this movement and, more particularly, to make the workers in it individually responsible for the tasks that are allotted to them. They must not function as officers from above, but as colleagues of the people they serve.

9. The last Session of the Congress at Nagpur passed a resolution on the agrarian organisational pattern. This Congress re-affirms that resolution. It notes with appreciation the progress made in land reforms as well as in cooperatives. It would stress, however, that the pace should be speeded up until every village has an efficient service cooperative which should not only help in agriculture, but also play an ever-increasing part in the development of animal husbandry, and in processing, marketing, consumer industries and in consumer trade. The development of such industries is of major importance for strengthening the rural economy and expanding employment opportunities for the people in rural areas. While service cooperatives are the immediate programme for every village, cooperative farming should be developed wherever it is desired by the

9. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-174.

The Congress welcomes the movement for decentralising rural economy and establishing a "panchayati raj." Some States have already implemented this programme, while some others are proceeding to do so. This development is of high importance as it makes the farmer responsible and self-reliant, and in this way, democracy grows from the ground upwards.

Any real industrial advance depends upon the development of heavy industries, more especially of iron and steel and machine-building and of power. It is on this base that other industries can grow. Part of this base has been laid by the great steel plants that are nearing completion and the efforts now being made for installing plants for heavy machine-building. This will have to continue throughout the Third Plan, while at the same time smaller industries as well as village industries should be encouraged and helped for the production of consumer goods. It is through these smaller industries that employment will be provided for many of those who are today unemployed or under-employed. In addition to this,

farmer concerned and is considered feasible. It should be realised that cooperation in all its forms is a voluntary movement.

10. The Congress welcomes the movement for decentralising rural economy and establishing a "panchayati raj." Some States have already implemented this programme, while some others are proceeding to do so. This development is of high importance as it gives the people greater scope for the exercise of responsibilities and makes them self-reliant. The National Plan should provide for such programmes that would ensure people's initiative and participation. In this way the foundation of democracy are strengthened.

11. Real industrial advance depends upon the development of heavy industries, more especially of iron and steel and machine-building, oil, chemicals and power. It is on this base that other industries grow. Part of this base is being laid by the great steel and power plants that are nearing completion and the efforts now in progress for installing plants for heavy machine-building. This process will have to continue throughout the Third Plan. At the same time smaller industries as well as village industries should be encouraged and helped for the production of consumer goods. It is through these smaller industries that employment will be provided for many of those who are today unemployed or under-employed. In addition to this,

the manpower resources of the country should be utilised by such temporary methods as may be available.

At this critical period in India's history, timing and achievement are vital. The best of policies and programmes prove ineffective if there is delay or slowness in their implementation. The policies that have been laid down are well known and are adequate; it is on their implementation that success depends. The strength of the nation is great if it is properly applied with discipline and unity. At this juncture, when the future of our country is at stake in many ways, disputes, factions and disruptive tendencies weaken national cohesion and are injurious to the nation's progress. Any step, even though otherwise justified, which comes in the way of productive effort or of national unity, is harmful. The Congress, therefore, earnestly hopes that the people of the country will bend their mighty energies to these great tasks and work with unity and strength of purpose for the achievement of the national objectives.

the manpower resources of the country should be utilised with the help of special programmes, particularly where the incidence of unemployment is high.

12. Agricultural and industrial workers are the basic and vital element in the community. They have to play the most important role in building up the economic strength of the country. Their welfare, therefore, should be properly looked after, and they must discharge their responsibilities by achieving a rising level of productivity for which sufficient incentives should be provided. The nation cannot afford

any interruption of production on account of strikes and lock-outs.

13. The Congress organisation has a crucial role in the effective implementation of these policies and programmes. It has a special part to play in bringing about the desired social and economic changes in the country. Congressmen should shoulder this responsibility and discharge this role more effectively. Congressmen should concentrate during the coming year on the formation of service cooperatives and organisation of village panchayats. Further, every Congressman must associate himself with at least one specific activity connected with development, and in rural areas especially, with some definite programme connected with agriculture.

14. At this critical period in India's history, timing and achievement are vital. The best of policies and programmes prove ineffective if there is delay or slowness in their implementation. The strength of the nation is great if it is properly applied with discipline and unity. Factions and disruptive tendencies weaken national cohesion. They are particularly injurious to the nation's progress at this juncture when the future of our country is at stake in many ways. Any step which comes in the way of productive effort or of national unity, is harmful. The Congress, therefore, earnestly hopes that the people of the country will bend

their mighty energies to these great tasks and work with unity and strength of purpose for the achievement of the national objective.

15. To the Subjects Committee: Planning¹⁰

I shall say a few words in Hindi and then if you so desire, I shall follow it up in English.

अध्यक्ष महोदय,¹¹

आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है काफी लम्बा चौड़ा है।¹² लेकिन सच बात यह है कि उसका विचार एक ही है। कई हैं। असल में एक ही विचार उसके पीछे है। अगर उस प्रस्ताव में हम, जो जो बातें हमारे मन में हैं। हम उसमें लिखना चाहते तो और भी लम्बा हो जाता। अक्सर बातें यहाँ कही गयीं, या कोई तरमीम भी पेश हुई, इसको बढ़ा दो, इसकी चर्चा नहीं है। एक साहब ने शायद कहा कि आश्चर्य है कि इसमें कोई इकॉनोमी की चर्चा नहीं है। ठीक है, इकॉनोमी बहुत ही आवश्यक चीज़ है, लेकिन अब ये हम इन बातों को लिखें तो दिक्कत यह हो जाती है कि जिधर हम असल में ध्यान दिलाना चाहते हैं वो फैल जाता है, भटक जाता है। इसलिए छोड़ना पड़ता है। कुछ न कुछ लिखा है। यानि इस सवाल को हमें देखना है। और किसी क़दर हमने पहले भी देखने की कोशिश की है इस ढँग से, कि एक हमारे सामने जंग है, लड़ाई है जो हमारी उसमें स्ट्रेटेजी का हो। किस तरफ़ से हमारी शक्ति, फ़ौजें वगैरह बढ़ें। हर तरफ़ बढ़ती हैं तो लड़ाई में फ़ौज भी कमज़ोर हो जाती है। और जो करना चाहते हैं इसमें कामयाब होने में ख़तरे पड़ जाते हैं।

हमारे सामने इससे बड़ा कोई सवाल नहीं हो सकता। और जो आजकल हमारे मुल्क के सामने है, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को आगे उठाना। ज़ाहिर है कि अच्छी से अच्छी गवर्नमेंट हो- वो, और अच्छी से अच्छी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हो। लेकिन अगर उसके पीछे शक्ति जनता की न हो तो बहुत दूर नहीं जा सकते। उसी के साथ यह भी ज़ाहिर है कि सारी शक्ति जनता की अगर ठीक तौर से रास्ते पर न चले तो ज़ाया हो जाती है। दोनों बातों की ज़रूरत है। और उसी के साथ इस बात की बहुत आवश्यकता है कि हमारा दिमाग साफ़ हो कि किस ढँग से हम जा रहे हैं? क्या हम चाहते हैं? मैं अपना मतलब आपके सामने साफ़ करने की कोशिश करता हूँ।

10. Intervention in the debate on the resolution on Planning and Development in the Subjects Committee of the AICC, Sadashivanagar, Bangalore, 14 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

11. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

12. Moved by C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister in the Madras Government. See item 14.

यह कहना कि हम यह चाहते हैं बात, हम तालीम इतनी चाहते हैं, स्वास्थ्य बढ़ जाये। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे गाँव सुन्दर हो जायें। हम चाहते हैं कि कारखाने खुलें। हम चाहते हैं कि खेती से, ज़मीन से, अधिक पैदा हो। सब बातें हम चाहते हैं और एक लम्बी फ़ेहरिस्त और भी हम लिख सकते हैं। लेकिन वह प्लानिंग नहीं है। वो ठीक योजना बनाना, वो एक लड़ाई का नक्शा नहीं है। वह आपकी ख़्वाहिशों की फ़ेहरिस्त है। ख़्वाहिशें अच्छी हैं और वो हम सब चाहते हैं। उन सब चाहने वाली चीज़ों के पीछे यह है कि हमारी शक्ति हो उन चीज़ों के हासिल करने की। अब ज़ाहिर है वह शक्ति नहीं है। चाहे पैसे से कहिए- नहीं है। असल में बात, काफी लोग नहीं है सीखे हुए लोग। क्योंकि एक और तस्वीर इसकी आप देखें इस मामले की- वह यह है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को एक पुराने ज़माने से नये ज़माने में जाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान, भारत, एक अजीब आजकल चीज़ है। जहाँ आपको हर ज़माना मिलता है, हर युग दिखता है। आजकल का आगे से आगे का ज़माना है। यहाँ आपको नज़र आयेगा और हज़ार बरस पुराना, दो हज़ार बरस पुराना। सब यहाँ मौजूद है। एक समय पर हर युग भारत में है। अच्छी बात है मुझे उसमें ऐतराज़ नहीं, अगर इस हालत में जम न जाये। और अधिकतर, और हम इस वक़्त, जैसे कि और देश भी। लेकिन हम औरों से कुछ ज़्यादा बदल रहे हैं, एक युग से दूसरे युग में।

अब एक युग से दूसरे युग में बदलने में क्या टैक्टिक्स और क्या स्ट्रेटेजी होनी चाहिए? यह सवाल है। यह नहीं कि कितने कुएँ बनें और कितने स्कूल बनें? कुएँ स्कूल वगैरह सब उसमें हैं और होने चाहिए और सब बातें। लेकिन कुएँ, स्कूल बनाने के लिए भी तो उस लड़ाई को जीतना है। असल बात तो यह है कि आप इन सवालों को अलग नहीं कर सकते, दोनों मिले हुए हैं। इस वक़्त भी हमें वो आसानियाँ, सहूलियतें देनी हैं। और अपनी लड़ाई को भी बढ़ाना है आगे। इस लड़ाई में पूरी कामयाबी तो तभी हो सकती है जब हुकूमत एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और जनता सब मिलकर एकजुट होकर चलें। ख़ैर, यह तो एक आइडियल है जिसको सौ फीसदी हासिल करना मुश्किल होता है हरेक को। कम से कम जितना मिल सके, जितना हासिल कर सकें, करें। तो फिर क्या स्ट्रेटेजी हमारी हो, यह सवाल हो सकता है न?

मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस रेजोल्यूशन को और इस रेजोल्यूशन को नहीं। इससे पहले भी रेजोल्यूशन को आप इसी निगाह से देखें। क्योंकि अक्सर तरमीमें आती हैं और जोकि ख़ास बातों पर ज़ोर देती हैं, जोकि अच्छी बातें होती हैं। उस तरमीम को स्वीकार न करना भी बुरा लगता है। लेकिन वो ध्यान भटका देती है किसी क़दर। हाँ, हम और आप बैठें इस प्रस्ताव के बाद- आज, कल, परसों, तीन महीने बाद। जैसाकि हमने पहले विचार किया है, कि अलग अलग बातें क्या हैं? जो ठीक हैं, करें। लेकिन जहाँ आप एक जगह, एक तरफ़ ताक़्त से हमला किया चाहते हैं, उधर लोग कहने लगे साहब उधर भी हमें जाना अच्छा होगा। और इधर भी अच्छा होगा। तो फिर बढ़ना दुश्वार हो जाता है। तो पहले तो यह बात आप ग़ौर करें।

दूसरे जो मैं इस स्ट्रेटेजी वगैरह का कहता हूँ। तो आप एक और बात पर भी विचार करें। बिलफेल में इन शब्दों का प्रयोग नहीं किया चाहता, सोशलिज़्म, कैपिटलिज़्म, इत्यादि जो ये शब्द हैं। हालांकि मैं अपने को एक सोशलिस्ट समझता हूँ और उसी के साथ अक्सर सोशलिस्ट उनको मैं नहीं समझता जो अपने को बहुत सोशलिस्ट बहुत कहते हैं। और जितने ज़्यादा ज़ोर

से कहते हैं उतने ही मैं कम उनको समझने लगा हूँ। क्योंकि मैंने देखा है कि कुछ ऐसे खयाल आ जाते हैं दिमाग में। गोया कि कुछ उस शब्द को ज़ोर से कहने से हम वहाँ पहुँच जाते हैं। वाक्या यह है कि ये सब शब्द दिखते हैं सोशलिज़्म, कम्युनिज़्म, इत्यादि, इन सभी के माने बदलते रहे हैं और इस समय बदल रहे हैं। पोथियों में जो कुछ लिखा हो, मार्क्स ने जो कुछ लिखा हो, लेनिन ने जो कुछ लिखा हो, सोशलिस्ट के जो प्रोफेटर हैं उन्होंने जो कुछ लिखा हो। वो बदलते हैं। और ज़ाहिर है बदलना है, क्योंकि दुनिया बदलती है। यानी एक शख्स आप सोचें, एक समाजवाद की चर्चा करता है सौ बरस हुए, 150 बरस हुए, जबकि एक सोलह आने एक खेती का समाज था- एग्रीकल्चर सिविलाइज़ेशन थी। तो उसके मन में समाजवाद की एक तस्वीर होती। जो वो करता है एक इंडस्ट्रियल एज में, समाजवाद की दूसरी तस्वीर है। मार्क्स ने किया, उसके मन में एक तस्वीर थी, उसके ज़माने की। कितना ही लायक हो वो, आज का ज़माना उसके सामने नहीं था। हज़ार बातें हुई चाँद पे हम जा रहे हैं, लोग जा रहे हैं, नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ ताक़तें पैदा हुईं।

तो पहली बात यह समझने की है, कि इन शब्दों में हम पड़कर खो न जाएँ। बाज़ लोग कहेंगे कि सोशलिज़्म के माने हैं नेशनलाइज़ करो हर चीज़ को। हाँ, एक माने उसके ये समझे गये हैं और किसी क़दर हैं भी। लेकिन कोई वो सोलहों आने उसका करना न करना सोशलिज़्म नहीं है और हो सकता है। सब नेशनलाइज़ करके आप वहीं के वहीं गड़े रहें जहाँ गड़े हैं। यह भी हो सकता है। तो कोई और चीज़ है करने की। तो इस बदलती हुई दुनिया को ज़रा समझना है। और उसमें एक बात समझ में आती है और वो ये कि जिस दुनिया ने तरक्की की है। वो की है पुराने तरीकों से निकलकर नये तरीके अख़्तियार किए हैं। चाहे कैपिटलिज़्म ने किया चाहे सोशलिज़्म ने किया। आजकल जो कामयाब मुल्क गिने जाते हैं दुनिया में वो इत्फ़ाक़ है कि उसमें बाज़ समाजवादी देश हैं- बड़ी तरक्की की है उन्होंने, रूस वगैरह ने, कोई संदेह नहीं। और बाज़ पूंजीवादी देश हैं। उन्होंने भी बहुत तरक्की की है अपने ढँग से। उनमें फिर क्या चीज़ है जो उनमें दोनों में है। दोनों में जो असल चीज़ है वो ये है कि पुरानी दुनिया से निकलकर नयी दुनिया में आये वो। नयी दुनिया, जिसमें नयी शक्तियों का उन्होंने प्रयोग किया, स्टीम का किया, बिजली का किया, तरह-तरह की और शक्तियों का किया। जिससे आदमी की ताक़त बहुत बढ़ जाती है। एक आदमी हज़ार आदमी का काम करता है। एटोमिक एनर्जी आयी, एक आदमी लाख आदमियों का काम करता है, तो खामखाह शक्ति बढ़ जाती है और उससे वो प्रकृति की ताक़तों से फ़ायदा उठाते हैं। अपने देश बना लिए हैं, दौलत पैदा किया है।

यह बात याद रखने की है कि हमें पुरानी दुनिया से नयी दुनिया में आना है। इसलिए भूलें नहीं आप, क्योंकि अक्सर लोग समझते हैं कि हम पुरानी दुनिया में रहें। लेकिन सारे फ़ायदे हमें नयी दुनिया के मिल जायें। हमारे किसानों की तारीफ़ होगी, और तारीफ़ के क़ाबिल हैं, वो बड़े तगड़े हैं और अपनी जान देने को तैयार हैं और जान जोखिम का मामला हो तो सामना करने को, बिल्कुल ठीक बात है। लेकिन वाक्या यह है कि वो पुरानी दुनिया में हैं और उनको नयी दुनिया में लाना है, मदद करनी है। और वो आयेंगे मुझे इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं।

इस बुनियादी बात को आपको समझना है। पुरानी दुनिया से निकलकर हमें नयी दुनिया

में आना है। नयी दुनिया के माने हैं नयी दुनिया की शक्तियाँ, नयी दुनिया के औज़ार, नयी दुनिया के हथियार, वो हमारे हाथ में होंगे। तब हम चाहे खेती हो, चाहे इंडस्ट्री हो, उद्योग धंधे हों- हम बढ़ते हैं तेज़ी से उनमें। क्योंकि शक्ति आ गयी, जो शक्ति महज़ आयी नहीं, उस शक्ति में नयी शक्ति पैदा करने की ताकत है जिसको सेल्फजेनेरेंटिंग कहते हैं, बार-बार आता है। दौलत पैदा करती है वो। और उस दौलत से हम और चीज़ें लेते हैं। तो सारी स्ट्रेटेजी हमारी हो गयी। किस तरह से हम इस चीज़ को पकड़ें, इस नयी दुनिया की शक्तियों को पकड़ें। मोटे तौर से कहा जा सकता है कि नयी दुनिया साइंस से बनी, टेक्नोलोजी से बनी। और भी बातें हैं लेकिन बुनियादी यही बात है। तो हमें वो करना है। इसके माने नहीं है कि हम अपने को जड़ से उखाड़ कर फेंक दें। किसी और दुनिया में चले जायें। लेकिन ये चीज़ें आवश्यक हो गयी हैं, और हर तजवीज़ को, जो आप पेश करते हैं सोचें आप, कहाँ तक हम इस नयी दुनिया में जाते हैं।

हम कहते हैं इस रेजोल्यूशन में मॉर्डनाइज़ एग्रीकल्चर, वही बात हुई नयी दुनिया में आये। उसके ख़ास ये माने नहीं हैं कि आप बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर ले आयें, बड़े-बड़े टरबाइन्स ले आयें। लायें दूसरी बात है, मौक़े पर हों। लेकिन उससे निकल जायें और कोई ज़रिया नहीं है। जब तक आप नहीं निकलते, जब तक कितनी आप मेहनत करें, कितनी जो किसानी करें, कितनी कुर्बानी करें। आप नहीं वहाँ पहुँच सकते, देखिये न। यह एक मोटी बात है। इस दुनिया का सौ बरस का इतिहास हमें सिखाता है और आजकल का इतिहास।

अब कठिनाई यह है कि यह मोटी बात पूरे तौर से शायद हम लोग, मैं, आप, हमारे खुद दिमाग में पूरे तौर से धँसी नहीं है। क्योंकि हम दो दुनिया के बीच के रहने वाले हैं। इधर भी पैर है उधर भी पैर है। दिमाग में भी दो टुकड़े हैं इस तरह से। जब हमारा यह हाल है तब उस बेचारे किसान को या और किसी आदमी को हम शिकायत क्यों करें कि वो नहीं समझा। क्योंकि हम खुद, हमारे दो टुकड़े होते हैं, हर वक़्त हमें पुरानी दुनिया खेंचती है, नयी दुनिया खेंचती है। और बेचारा किसान तो हो, ये कहना कि हम उसे जोश नहीं हम दिला सके। यह बात सही है और हमारा कुसूर है, मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन यह आसान जवाब नहीं है। जोश दिलाना आज नहीं, आज भी जोश में, मगर कोई ख़तरा मुल्क पर आये तो मुझे यकीन है, जैसे राधा कुमुद जी¹³ ने कहा हमारे किसान खड़े हो जायें सामना करने को, यकीनन, किसान भी और भी सब हो जायें। वो ठीक है क्योंकि वो एक सीधी बात होती है जो दिमाग पकड़ लेता है। लेकिन यह ज़्यादा पेचीदा बात है- पुरानी दुनिया से निकलकर नयी दुनिया में आना।

मैं आपको एक और मिसाल दूँ, आप इसमें लिखते हैं बड़े ज़ोरों से एनीमल हस्वैन्डरी वगैरह का, कि ज़रूरत है और कैटल को हमें बचाना है। आवश्यक है, कोई शक़ और सदेह नहीं। सारी दुनिया जानती है कि हिन्दुस्तान में कैटल का, सबसे बुरा उससे बर्ताव है। सबसे बुरा हाल है उसका। और मुल्कों में यूरोप में जाओ, अमेरिका में जाओ अच्छी से अच्छी गाय, भैंस, भैंस तो वहाँ होती नहीं है। अच्छे से अच्छा दूध, बेशुमार दूध, अच्छी से अच्छी हर जगह, बड़ी देखभाल होती है। हमारे मुल्क में जहाँ सबसे ज़्यादा आदर होता है इसका नहीं सबसे बुरा

हाल है। तब क्या खराबी है, क्यों है? विचार करने की बात है न? कोई न कोई तो है उसमें खराबी। और हालत यह हो गयी है पंजाब में, उत्तर प्रदेश के उत्तर में आजकल एक भयानक हालत पैदा हो गयी है। क्योंकि जंगली कैटल, जंगली मवेशी ऐसे खतरनाक हो गये हैं जैसे शेर होता है और सब खेतों को उजाड़ दे रहे हैं। मेरे पास पंजाब की शिकायतें आयीं, वहाँ के किसान ज़मींदार आये, गोल के गोल जंगली कैटल के जाते हैं खेत खराब कर देते हैं। यानी यह वही बात हुई फिर, कि हम नयी बातें चाहते हैं पुरानी दुनिया में रहकर। जोड़ चलता नहीं है। पुराने विचार, पुराने प्रेजुडिशियस, पुराने रिवाज़ उसको भी रखेंगे और नयी दुनिया को भी। यह बड़ी मुश्किल बात है और चलती नहीं बात वह। एक-दूसरे को रोकते हैं। हाँ ऐसे मामले में चल जाती है, ऐसे मामले में चल जायेगी, आप अँग्रेज़ी हुकूमत का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं सीधी बात है। उसमें पुराना नया नहीं आता है। एक 1857 में भी एक जंगे आज़ादी हुई थी, किसने लड़ी थी? अक्सर लोगों ने ज़्यादातर लोगों ने जोकि बिल्कुल पुरानी दुनिया के थे। हारे वो, इसी वज़ह से हारे। लेकिन हिम्मत की कमी नहीं थी, जोश की कमी नहीं थी, बहादुरी की कमी नहीं थी। लेकिन पुरानी दुनिया उनको पकड़े हुए थी।

खैर, तो फिर याद रखें आप, इसी सवाल को इसमें से लें, हमेशा नयी और पुरानी दुनिया। मैं नहीं कहता कि पुरानी दुनिया से हम और आप निकल सकते हैं या नहीं निकलें। क्योंकि बहुत कुछ पुरानी दुनिया की बातें हैं जिनकी मेरे दिल में बहुत क़दर है। लेकिन मैं पुरानी दुनिया को, सिद्धान्त उसके मानने को तैयार हूँ ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं। लेकिन आप कहें कि पुरानी दुनिया के ढंग मानूँ मैं खेती करने के लिए या कारख़ाना चलाने के लिए। वो मुझे स्वीकार नहीं हैं। क्योंकि मैं फिर आजकल की साइंस और टेक्नॉलोजी से फ़ायदा नहीं उठाता। अब सब तो इन बातों को जानते हैं। माफ़ करेंगे मैं कह रहा हूँ मोटी बातें हैं। लेकिन मैं फिर भी आपकी तवज़ो दिला रहा हूँ कि यह सब बार-बार कहना कि साहब गाँधी जी ने यह कहा था और हम क्यों नहीं करते, ये वाजिब है कहना, हमें उसमें विचार करना चाहिए। लेकिन सवाल को भी तो समझना चाहिए।

कुछ दूसरे साहेबान हैं जो समझते हैं कि हम जोश पैदा करते हैं। हमें करना चाहिए। एक किस्म के नारों की ज़बान से जोशीली ज़बान से, नारे भी अपनी जगह रखते हैं। और जोशीली ज़बान भी अपनी जगह रखती है। लेकिन कोई भी जगह वो रखें वो काम की जगह उसने आज तक नहीं लिया है और इस मामले में ख़ासतौर से बड़ा ख़तरा है कि नारे का वक़्त उतनी देर तक होता है जितनी देर तक मन में गूँजता है नारा। उसका असर कुछ न हुआ, कुछ किया नहीं तो उसका रिएक्शन होता है और ठंडे हो जाते हैं। असल में काम से मुल्क बढ़ते हैं। मोटी बात यह है और हमारा मुकाबला किसी दूसरे मुल्क से हो। तो यकीनन आपका नारा वहाँ किसी के कान तक नहीं पहुँचेगा। यह यहीं रह जाता है आपके यहाँ। कैसे मुकाबला करें और शक्ति से।

तो वो अभी श्यामनन्दन मिश्र जी¹⁴ ने यहाँ एक बहुत क़ाबिल तफ़रीर की और मैंने बहुत ग़ौर से उसे सुना। और उन्होंने एक कुछ कहा कि हाँ इस प्रस्ताव में कुछ खराबी नहीं है लेकिन कोई ख़ास ख़ूबी भी नहीं है कोई जोश की चीज़ भी नहीं है, कोई रास्ता नहीं दिखाता, वगैरह

वगैरह। ठीक बात होगी, कम से कम उन्होंने खुद तस्लीम किया कि मुझे कुछ जोश नहीं आया, तो यहाँ तक तो नाकामयाब हो गया रेजोल्यूशन। अब और किसी क़दर उन्होंने अपने जोश की कमी को, उन्होंने कोशिश की कि औरों में भी कमी हो जाये, तो उस दर्जे भी शायद थोड़ा कामयाब हो गया। तो इस तरह से, अगर हम इस ढँग का तरीका अख़्तियार करें, जिससे हर वक़्त औरों की हिम्मत भी पस्त हो। तो ज़ाहिर है नतीजा उसका यह है कि अपनी पस्त हिम्मत औरों को भी जाती है, हरेक का होता है और टैम्प्रेचर फिर गिरता जाता है। तो इसके माने नहीं हैं कि मैं शिकायतन नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं असर का कह रहा हूँ। क्योंकि इस आप दस-बारह बरस का इतिहास देखें। तो कितने लोग इस बात पर, कितने लोग और जो हमारे खिलाफ़ हैं हमारे विरोधी दल हैं। ख़ैर, वो तो हर समय यह कहते ही हैं, हर काम में अटकाव डालते हैं। हर बात में डालते हैं और एक फिज़ा बदलने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन हममें से भी कभी-कभी इस बात में बगैर इरादे के मदद कर देते हैं, फिज़ा को बदलने में गिराने में। दोनों बातें होती हैं। मुश्किल होता है। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि सब लोग हाँ में हाँ करें, वो तो गाड़ी कोई इस तरह से चलती नहीं है कोई ज़िन्दा दिमाग, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ बातें होती हैं जोकि हवा को तेज़ करती हैं या हवा को गिराती हैं। उसका ध्यान रखना होता है, ख़तरे के मौक़े पर।

अब मैं उनको शिकायत थी श्यामनन्दनजी को, कि कोई माक़ूल रास्ता नहीं दिखाया। अब उनकी स्पीच मैंने बहुत सुनी तो सिवाय इसके कि तरह-तरह से कहने के उन्होंने कोई रास्ता नहीं दिखाया। हर तरह से कहा है उन्होंने, हालांकि उनको मौक़ा है, यहाँ महज़ नहीं। आपको याद हो यह सवाल उठा कैसे है हमारे यहाँ? यों तो हर साल उठता है काँग्रेस में लेकिन पिछली काँग्रेस में एक तो ख़ैर नागपुर रेजोल्यूशन हुए आपको याद होगा। और उसके नागपुर के पहले भी एक कमेटी बनाई गयी थी- प्लानिंग कमेटी। और उसके बाद वो बैठी, पहले भी बैठी, बाद भी बैठी। उसने एक सेमिनार किया उटकमंड में¹⁵ वहाँ बहुत सारे दानिशमंद बुजुर्ग जमा हुए। जिसमें श्यामानन्दन जी भी थे। और उनकी भी मदद पूरी ली गयी। और सलाह मशवरा हुआ। वो उस कमेटी में भी थे, प्लानिंग कमेटी में, सेमिनार में भी थे और कुछ उनका सम्बन्ध हमारे प्लानिंग कमीशन से भी है। तो काफी उनकी राय से फ़ायदा उठाने का मौक़ा हमें मिल चुका है, और यकीनन मिलेगा। लेकिन बदकिस्मती यह है कि कुछ बहुत सफ़ाई से रास्ते उनकी तरफ़ से भी नहीं रखे गये। मैंने आपसे कहा कि उन्होंने कोई ख़ास रास्ता नहीं दिखाया है। हाँ, एक बात का इशारा उन्होंने किया, चर्चा किया। अँग्रेज़ी में जो उन्होंने कहा कोऑपरेशन ऑफ़ लाइक-माइंडेड पार्टिज़ यानी हम सहयोग करें और दलों से, जिनका दिमाग कुछ हमारे दिमाग से मिलता जुलता हो, यह है।

अच्छा, इसके क्या माने? इसके माने बहुत हो सकते हैं और मैं उसमें जाना नहीं चाहता, यह कोई मौज़ू वक़्त नहीं है। लेकिन जहाँ तक हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है या और भी ऐसी चीज़ें हैं। हम हमेशा तैयार हैं पूरे तौर से सहयोग करने को, कोऑपरेट करने को हरेक से, जो उसपे विश्वास रखता है। ज़ाहिर है कि जो बिल्कुल विश्वास न रखे, ज़रा कठिनाई हो जाती है, फिर तो खेंचातानी हो जाती है। और इसीलिए वहाँ दिल्ली में एक अलग दलों की एक कमेटी

भी बनाई है प्लानिंग के ऊपर। और मैं चाहता हूँ वो बढ़े और मैं चाहता हूँ वो अच्छी तरह से काम करे, सहयोग मिले। मैं नहीं चाहता कि एक सब प्लानिंग के सवाल को हम समझ लें यह खाली काँग्रेस का सवाल है या गवर्नमेंट का सवाल है। यह हर दल का सवाल मैं चाहता हूँ हो और हर पार्टी का हो। और वो ज़रा फर्क राय है तो उसका इज़हार करें, मुझे फ़िक्र नहीं है। लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से उसको पकड़ें। हालाँकि बाज़ लोग ऐसे हैं, पार्लियामेंट विरोधी दल जोकि बुनियादी तौर से इसको स्वीकार नहीं करते।

एक नया दल पैदा हुआ है यहाँ, दक्षिण से निकला है। जोकि बिल्कुल ही इससे इंकार करता है।¹⁶ और वो समझता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक ही चीज़ की ज़रूरत है और वो गवर्नमेंट को, काँग्रेस को गाली देना। और हिन्दुस्तान का बेड़ा पार हो जायेगा। खैर, मुबारक हो उनको इस हवा में रहना। मेरा ख़याल है जो दल ऐसी हवा में रहते हैं वो कहीं पहुँचते नहीं हैं, उसी में रह जाते हैं, खैर। लेकिन अगर उनका मतलब है श्यामनन्दन जी का कि कोऑपरेशन ऑफ़ लाइक-माइंडेड पार्टीज़ कोई करीबी रिश्ता पैदा हो, मैं कैसे कहूँ कि इसका मौक़ा न आये तो हम न करें, यह मौक़े पर है। लेकिन मुझे अब तक नज़र नहीं आया है कि हम कैसे गले मिलें जाके लोगों से, जो हमें धिक्कारते जाते हैं। ज़रा मेरा दिमाग़ तंग हो शायद। हाँ कोऑपरेट हर बात में करें। लेकिन जहाँ आप इस सवाल को उठायेँगे मैं आपसे कहता हूँ मैं उठा चुका हूँ पहले। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ, वहाँ फ़ौरन आप ऐसी बहसों में पड़ेंगे कि काम तो एक आयेगा, बहस सारी होगी, अख़बार में होगी, आप में होगी, उनमें होगी, बहस, बहस। इससे कहीं ज़्यादा अच्छा है कि हम काम मिलकर करें बग़ैर इसके कि इन बातों को निकालें जो कही गयीं।

हालत यह है कि अक्सर बातें हैं, फर्ज़ कर लीजिए अभी एक यह सवाल उठा है यह हमारे फ़ॉरेन पॉलिसी का। इसमें भी बाज़ लोग इतने ज़ोरों से उसका विरोध करते हैं और समझते हैं कि हमारी काँग्रेस की या गवर्नमेंट की नीति इतनी ख़राब है कि उसको बिल्कुल उलट-पलट कर देना चाहिए। अब आप समझ सकते हैं कि अगर ऐसी दो राय बिल्कुल एक दूसरे के ख़िलाफ़ हों तो मिलके कैसे कोई नीति निकल सकती है या इधर है या उधर है। यह कठिनाइयाँ मैं आपको बताता हूँ मैं उस सवाल में नहीं जाना चाहिए। खैर, अब काफी समय मैंने ले लिया। अब मैं अँग्रेज़ी में चला जाता हूँ।

[Translation begins:

Mr President,¹⁷

There is a fairly long resolution before you.¹⁸ But the fact of the matter is that there is only one thought underlying it. If we had put down everything that is in our minds, the resolution would have become even longer. People wanted various suggestions and amendments to be incorporated and I think one gentleman said that no mention has been made of the state of the economy. It is

16. The Swatantra Party. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 242-245.

17. See fn 11 in this section.

18. See fn 12 in this section.

true that economy is a very important thing. But the problem about including all these things is that the attention is drawn away from the real issues which we wish to stress. So they had to be left out except as stray references. We have to look at this question from the point of view of a strategy in war. We have tried to do this earlier too. We must try to increase our strength in every way. It often happens that success makes an army soft and complacent.

Today the biggest problem before us is to uplift the forty crores of people in India. It is obvious that even the best of governments and administrations cannot take the country very far if the people are not behind them in full strength. At the same time it is equally obvious that the people's energies are frittered away if they are not organised properly. So both things are essential. At the same time, it is equally essential that we should be clear in our minds about our goals and what we want to do. Let me try to make myself clear.

We can draw up a long list of things that we want like education and health-care for all, uplift of the rural areas, more industries, increase in agricultural production, etc. But that is not planning, nor is it strategy. It is merely a list of our desires. Desires are all very well and all of us have some desires. But they must be backed by the ability and the strength to achieve them. Now it is obvious that we lack that strength whether it is a question of resources or trained and skilled personnel. You must try to understand that we are in transition from the past into a new age.

India is a strange mixture of the old and new. Here you will find all ages, the past as well as the present and future, existing together. Every age is reflected in India. It is a good thing and I have no objection to it provided we do not become stagnant. Moreover, we in India more than most countries, are moving more rapidly from one age to another. So the question is what our strategy and tactics should be in this age of transition. It is not merely a question of how many wells or schools are to be built though they are important too. But we have to win this battle against poverty to be able to do those things. The two are linked together. We will have to provide facilities for education, etc., now and carry on with the battle. We can succeed in this battle only if the administration and the people present a united front. It may be difficult to achieve this ideal hundred per cent. But we must try to achieve it to the extent possible. Therefore, it is a question of strategy.

I want you to look at this resolution from that angle. There are often very good amendments which emphasize some of the aspects of the issue. It is not proper to set them aside either. But to some extent, the attention is diverted. We can certainly take up the details more particularly in the coming months. But if we spread ourselves too thin, the progress will not be satisfactory. So let us consider this resolution first.

When I talk about strategy and what not, there is another thing which must be taken into account like socialism and capitalism though I consider myself a socialist and do not think that many others who call themselves socialists are worthy of being called that. The louder their professions the less faith I have in them because the general thinking seems to be that it is enough to mouth slogans or give fiery speeches. The fact of the matter is that the definition of socialism and communism, etc., keeps changing. The truths and philosophies propounded by the prophets of socialism and communism like Marx and Lenin keep changing because it is obvious that things change with the changing world. If an individual had thought of socialism a hundred or hundred fifty years ago when there was a hundred per cent agrarian civilization, he would have formed one kind of picture. Now, in this industrial age, the picture is totally different. Marx conceived of a picture that was relevant to his age. But he could have simply not conceived a picture of the future. All kinds of new things are happening. Man is reaching out to the Moon and acquiring new sources of energy. Therefore, the first thing for us to understand is that we must not get carried away by mere words. Some people feel that socialism implies nationalisation of everything on sight. It is true to some extent but it does not apply to everything. It is possible that by nationalising everything we may continue to be in the old rut.

So, we must understand this changing world of ours. It must be understood quite clearly that the world that has progressed has been able to do so by adopting new methods, whether it was under socialism or capitalism. Today there are both capitalist and communist countries among those who are regarded as advanced countries in the world. What is the common factor between them? It is the fact that they have emerged out of the old world into a new one in which all kinds of new forces are being discovered. They have adopted the use of steam, electricity and other sources of energy which have increased Man's strength a hundredfold. Today one individual can do the work of a thousand or even a million with the use of atomic energy. So they have taken advantage of the forces of nature to increase production and thereby the wealth of their country. We will also have to go from the old into the new world. I want you to bear this in mind because very often people want to live in their old ruts and yet get the benefits of the new world too. Take our farmers, for instance. They are extremely hard working and strong and prepared to lay down their lives. But the fact of the matter is that they are living in a rut. They must adopt new ways and I have no doubt about it that they will do so.

I want you to understand this fundamental thing. We must emerge into the new world, adopt new forces, new techniques and weapons. Then we will be able to advance rapidly whether it is in the field of agriculture or industry or something else because we would have acquired strength which is self-

generating. We will be able to produce new wealth which in turn will generate more wealth. So our entire strategy today is to grasp the new forces of this world. Broadly speaking, it can be said that the modern world is based on science and technology. There are other factors too but this is fundamental. So we must also adopt them. That does not mean that we should pull out our roots. But it is essential to adopt new techniques and you must look at every suggestion from the point of view of how far it helps us to emerge into the new world.

We have talked of modernising agriculture in this Resolution. That does not mean that we should import huge tractors and combines. We can do so wherever it is possible. But we must get out of the old rut because until we do so, no matter how hard we work or how much we sacrifice, we cannot reach our goals. This is the broad lesson which the history of the world of the last hundred years teaches us.

The difficulty is that perhaps this has not been fully grasped by most of us because we are still living between the two worlds, mentally and otherwise. When this is the situation how can we blame the poor peasant? We are torn between the two worlds. It is futile to blame the farmer. I agree that we have not been able to motivate him and am prepared to accept the blame. But the solution is not simple. Even today, if there is some danger, I am convinced, as Radha Kumudji said,¹⁹ that the farmers and everyone else will at once spring to the country's defence because that is a straightforward thing, easy to grasp. But it is far more complicated to emerge out of the old world into the new.

Let me give you another example. You have talked about animal husbandry and what not. I have no doubt about it that it is essential. The whole world knows that cattle in India is treated very badly. In Europe and the United States, they are very well looked after and so a great deal of milk is produced. In India we venerate the cow but treat it very badly. It is something to ponder about. The situation is becoming increasingly dangerous in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh because of wild cattle which destroy the crops. I have received several complaints from the Punjab where entire fields have been destroyed. So this is once again a manifestation of the old world. There can be no amalgam of old ideas and customs and prejudices and the new world. They act as obstacles in the way of each other. It is a different matter if we were fighting for our freedom. The question of old and new does not arise then. For example, we fought even as early as 1857 a war for freedom when people were steeped in the old ruts. They lost because of that but there was no dearth of courage or bravery.

So, we come round again and again to the difference between the old and the new. Now I do not say that we can cut ourselves off completely from

19. See fn 13 in this section.

everything that is old. I respect much of what there is in our past and I agree that our ancient philosophy and culture were of a very high order. But I am not prepared to accept it if anyone says that we should continue to use old methods of agriculture or industry. We will then fail to take advantage of the advance made by modern science and technology. Please forgive me for pointing out the obvious. I am drawing your attention to it because when we talk about what Gandhiji advocated, we should also try to understand the problem before us.

There are others who believe in slogan-mongering. Slogans are all right in their own place. But they can never replace real, hard work. Slogans have an effect only so long as they are reverberating in our ears. If they are not followed up with strong action, everything falls flat. In fact it is only hard work which can lead to a nation's progress. In a confrontation with another country, our slogans will certainly not influence them. What we need is real strength.

Shri Shyam Nandanji Mishra²⁰ gave a very good speech and I listened to it attentively. He said that though there is nothing obviously wrong with the Resolutions, it is in no way inspiring and nor does it chalk out a clear path. That fact that he has accepted it himself shows that the Resolution has failed to that extent. If his pessimism leads to the cooling of the enthusiasm of others, it will be even more unsuccessful. If we continue to adopt such methods by which we are constantly dampening the enthusiasm of others also, it is obvious that there will be less and less optimism for any task. I am not complaining. I am merely talking about the effect of such things. You will find that in the last ten to twelve years, the parties in opposition have constantly tried to put obstacles in our way and vitiate the atmosphere and there are many amongst us who help them further. It makes things difficult. I do not mean to say that everyone should accept everything. No true mind can ever function like that. But there are certain things which can make or mar things. We have to be careful particularly in times of danger.

Well, Shyam Nandanji's complaint was that the resolution does not provide a clear direction. He has said the same thing in different ways. But he has himself had more than one opportunity to do something about it. You may remember that certain resolutions were passed at the Nagpur Congress and before that a Planning Committee was formed which held a seminar at Ootacamund.²¹ Shyam Nandanji was also among the participants and has been associated with the Planning Commission, also. So we have had ample opportunities to have the benefit of his views. But unfortunately he has never suggested anything very constructive. The only thing that he has hinted at is

20. See fn 14 in this section.

21. See fn 15 in this section.

cooperation among like-minded parties. This can mean several things and I do not wish to go into it. But as far as the Five Year Plan and other things are concerned, we are always prepared to cooperate fully with anyone who believes in them. Obviously, it is difficult with people who do not believe in them at all because then it leads to tension. Therefore, a separate committee on planning has been constituted with members from different parties. I want it to function well. I do not want that planning should be regarded as a problem for the Congress or the government alone. I want every single party to be associated with it. So long as they can grasp the fundamentals. I do not mind if they express any differences of opinion that may arise. But there are certain parties in Parliament who are basically opposed to planning. There is a new party in the South which refuses to accept it at all.²² Its only aim seems to be to abuse the Congress and government. Anyhow, they are welcome to it. I am convinced that those who think in this vein can get nowhere. But if Shyamnandanji means that there should be close relationship when he talks about cooperation of like-minded persons, how can I say what we can do unless the opportunity arises? It depends on that. So far I am unable to see how we can come close to the parties which heap abuse on us all the time. It is possible that I am prejudiced. We are certainly prepared to cooperate in all matters. But the moment you raise these questions, it can only lead to arguments and debates which will be splashed about in the newspapers. It is better that we should continue to cooperate instead of raising these issues.

There are often issues in which a consensus is not possible. Take, for instance, our foreign policy. There are some who are so totally opposed to it that they want to change it completely. Now you can imagine that in such a situation, a consensus is practically impossible. I am pointing out why we should not get into these debates. Well, I have taken up too much of your time.

Translation ends.]

Now I shall say a few words in English.

Mr President, First of all, may I with your permission refer to certain personal aspects? All of you will have noticed that two of our dear and old colleagues are not here today—Govind Ballabh Pant²³ and Lal Bahadur Shastri.²⁴ Naturally they wanted very much to come, but under doctor's advice, we also induced

22. See fn 16 in this section.

23. Union Home Minister.

24. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

them not to come and not to overstrain themselves. Pantji told me with a catch in his voice that this was the first time in forty years that he was not attending the Congress Session. Perfectly true. We hope he and Lal Bahadurji will get well and strong very soon and continue the great work they have done for the Congress. Here Pantji in forty years I thought of my own little record in the Congress ever since—I forget now, I cannot say how many Congresses I have attended as a delegate. I started in 1912, that is forty seven years ago, I missed one or two, but ever since 1915, I have attended every Congress Session except when I was in prison and once when I was in Europe; and naturally this long decade or more than four decades of close association, which I have had, and the same period or somewhat lesser period which many of you have had, and many in the country with the Congress, has created very peculiar bonds between us and this organisation. We are ultimately children of this organisation, we have shouted and quarrelled and all that but we have always been children of this organisation and proud children of this organisation, which has done so much for this country. And so on this occasion, as on others too—more specially on this occasion, this past comes up before me, this changing past of the country and of the Congress, because the Congress has reflected the country and has reflected not only its strength, but also all its weaknesses too often enough. And now, when we stand again at the time of great testing and trial, naturally one feels, one looks to that past and wants to convert it into a more effective present and future.

Here we meet in Bangalore City. It is a lovely city and there are many things in it, which for my part affect me greatly, its flowers and trees and its people, if I may say so, and its charming women, if I may say so. But here, in Bangalore apart from the men and women and others, you see particularly a strange mixture. There is a strong perfume of the past in Bangalore—a very agreeable perfume, a very desirable one; and there are strong winds of the present and future here too which you see in the great factories, the great farms and the great scientific establishments that have grown up in Bangalore; and it is that which gives Bangalore life and which makes the city grow and grow, a city with vitality in it, a city which appears although it is an old city, a city which gives us an impression of exuberant youth.

It is these winds of modern times which come to it, these scientific institutes, great factories—I have been visiting some this time, some previously and most of them we found in the public sector. There is the old Institute of Science²⁵ for many years as it were, there is the other Institute under the control of Dr. Raman, our greatest scientist. There is the Hindustan Aircraft, HAL,—a wonderful place

25. Indian Institute of Science.

which has already done good work and which is going to produce I think even in greater work in the near future – not in the distant future. There is the great telephone concern. There is the M.I.T.²⁶ which has demonstrated, probably more than any other concern in India,— how a public sector organisation can set an example in efficiency, good work and profits, all of them together. And yesterday, I went to another place, what you call electronics place — no, not Bharat Electronics, that big show—I went to a smaller, small electronics show run by the Defence Ministry.²⁷ I was fascinated by it. Why? I will tell you. Not because of its bigness, but because these people who are working in wretched hutments, shacks which were built for some army-men in the war for a few years ago—they have not put up a single building—they are just hutments—kutchra hutments—there they are doing the finest work in electronics without all pomp and show of buildings. So, all this makes me exuberant, makes me get that feeling which Shyamnandan Mishra lacks [Laughter] because this is a thing which is giving life—new life, the future is coming to shape.

I see in Bangalore the future takes shape as I see it in many parts of India. It is true in many places I see the hands of the dead past also clinging to India, refusing to let go; and so all over this country, in town and village, you find the secret, sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious, and hidden fight going on between the dead past and the living future. We must realise that, and you must decide which way you stand in this and how you can bring about and loosen the grips—the grip of those bonds which will keep you from growing. Keep your agriculture from growing; keep your other things; in industry it does not matter so much because industry is of the present; we cannot tie our hands to agriculture; it does not matter. I do not think, mind you, that our peasantry are a difficult people; I don't. I think it is all often said that the peasantry are conservative; naturally they are broadly conservative, but I do not think at all they are so conservative as not to change; they do change, provided you approach them rightly, provided you convince them. Conviction is not by speech, it is by example, by demonstration. When they see a thing they are convinced. I must have seen in the course of last month at least 10,000 farmers from various parts of India in Delhi because they were coming for the Exhibition²⁸ and as I have said, they think me part of the exhibition, they come to see me also and I have to talk to them. They are bright people, bright people, full of desire to get on interested, asking me questions, what does that machine do, what does this machine do, telling me they saw something in that pavilion which struck them

26. Manipal Institute of Technology, Bangalore.

27. The Electronics Research and Development Establishment. See item 107.

28. World Agriculture Fair, at New Delhi from 10 December 1959 to 10 January 1960.

as good. They would like to have it. You see you have a response of a person whose mind is all locked up.

So, I have faith in India's peasantry as I have faith in India's people, all over. That does not mean that I consider them as something to be worshipped and all that. They are very human, very arraigned and often times tied up with the most hopeless out-of-date-customs. I do not admire those customs. I want them to go.

So, here is the problem, modernising India without losing its roots in our cultural past because that is important.

In doing so, we must have to move on many fronts and repeatedly we have stated in our resolution in our Planning Commission what we should do; and I

EXCELLENT BATTING



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 20 JANUARY 1960)

should like you to appreciate that the broad lines of our advance, which the Planning Commission has laid down or which the Congress has laid down, are really not arguable, if I may use that word. Broadly, I might say. We may criticise minor things; you may like more emphasis to be given to this or that but so far as the broad approach is concerned, it is broadly accepted by a vast majority of intelligent people whatever their basic policies might be. I shall say this: apart from minor differences, the broad lines affected by the planners from the Soviet Union and the planners from America both, although they come from entirely different countries. I do not say they wouldn't like some change; yes, they would like some change in this or that. But that apart, the basic approach, that is the scientific approach, not the ideological approach you get; if you put the two together, they may argue; they may argue heatedly; but approaching these questions from a purely scientific view, approaching it scientifically, technically and if you like statistically; everybody tends to arrive at the same conclusion, because today even this business of planning has become, not an exact science, but nevertheless a known science. You know if you do certain things the result will be this or that. Of course, the biggest uncertain factor is the human element in it, the kind of work the people can put in because ultimately it must be realised that we can only advance to the extent we put in hard work. It does not matter whether you are in capitalist economy, or communist or socialist. But it is hard work on scientific lines that produces results.

You should also realise if you want to better our standards it is only through hard work and more production we can get at it. There is no other way. People imagine that you can do it by a stroke of a hand by some magic. They are hopelessly wrong so that these are basic common factors. Some people think that you can better standards by nationalisation, or by depriving somebody of this or somebody of that. If somebody holds something, it would not be proper to deprive them; that does not make the slightest difference to the standards of the people, by depriving somebody, because there is not enough in the country to raise standards. We only raise standards by producing more. There is no other way.

An argument then comes whether producing more is done better, let us say, in a capitalistic method or by socialistic or communist. These arguments have come. But the basic thing is that we have to produce more. There is no other way to increase standards.

Now, we in the Congress hold that broadly speaking the socialistic ideal is right. That is the ultimate picture, of broad equality, of egalitarian society and equal opportunities to everybody; apart from the dogma chosen; and we also think that is the broad approach, that applies to every country, but more particularly to India, we hold that in the conditions prevailing here planning

with any speed can only be done through keeping the socialist objective in front of us, and a certain bias over it throughout our planning. Because again, a country which is a rich country, which is an already developed country, may offer alternatives of approach. But a country like India I say, that is, I feel that there is not even an alternative. And those people who imagine there is an alternative delude themselves, are merely tied up in some cobwebs of the past or are too much influenced by other factors.

Take the Swatantra Party. I wish it well because it fascinates me to see the sudden emergence of this dark state of mind from the past. It has no relation to the present, absolutely no relation at all. I hope I am not wholly unintelligent. But I have tried hard because they are friends of ours with no ill will towards any individuals. But this type of shouting that goes on there is only just a fear of the present and of the future, the fear of this changing world and curiously enough a kind of a life to it; others who are not afraid in that way because they want to change it too, but change it in a peculiar way, which if they had any looking at it from a purely practical point of view, they realise they cannot do it in India. The forces let loose in India will never permit them to do it, and they will never solve the problems in India in that way.

So, it is really astonishing how this kind of thing is thought of. I do not mean to say that the Congress programme or the Planning Commission's programme, step by step, everything is right. No, of course. It is, may be, wrong; we may have to change it. I do say that is the basic approach. I do not for a moment want to speak about it on ideological terms; the basic approach is a scientific approach and an attempt at a scientific approach to increase the capacity of India, to increase its wealth rapidly. And to reach a stage, the first stage, which is called the changeover, the takeover, "the take-off stage", when your capacity becomes adequate to supplement the future efforts, it becomes a self-generating self-feeding, call it what you like.

Countries are now separated in various categories, communism or socialism, capitalism and other isms. The traditional society, the changing society affected by modern techniques, and a society which takes off from this to the mature technological society and the latter stage to a high consumption society.

Now, practically in the world today, there is no absolutely traditional society left. May be, I do not know, some parts of Africa there may be. Tibet was such till a year ago. I suppose it cannot obviously be called fully traditional society. But changes have no doubt occurred, been enforced and coerced, but the changes have occurred. Maybe I find some other small corner of the world but every society more or less has naturally been affected. You put a railway train in a country. You immediately think you left the old traditional society and come into a new one; slowly as we did it nearly a hundred years ago. So, you come

out of it and then you move towards the take-off stage into the technological society. Now, we are at a stage not far from the take-off stage into the technological society and when I say not far, I say it as not far in terms of years, it may take a few years. It is not a fixed point; of course, a moving point, but I do hope, as this resolution says, that by the end of the Third Plan we shall be round about there in good sight of it. This take-over, mind you, all this has taken long periods in other countries. So, this is a scientific matter, not a question of mere shouting of slogans. Whatever you may call yourself, socialist or other, but so far as I am concerned, broadly, the objective of socialism and the approach of socialism appears to me right, both ethically and practically. Therefore, there is no conflict in my mind between this and practice, because both lead me to the same conclusion. But again I repeat that that conclusion is not one of accepting any dogma. In this changing world, I refuse to accept any dogma and I want to profit by experience or what happens.

Now, this resolution refers to various things here and there, it is true, but essentially it is a resolution of, if you like, affirming or confirming what you have said previously and impressing the country on the necessity of implementing all that. It is a necessity of resolution of implementation. Now, generally speaking, we have been laying down policies, good policies, no doubt. But this should be done, that should be done, so far as planning is concerned. As I reminded you just now, we have this All-India Committee for Planning; they had eminent people, not only Congress, outsiders, economists and others too. We had the seminar; we had some eminent people from outside the Congress; certainly we took their help and we did not approach it in a party manner. We approached it with a view to learn as well as evolve something practical and get effective. We arrived at certain conclusions; we published them. It is quite open to us, it is entirely open to us on further consideration to vary here and there. There is nothing final about it.

The Planning Commission is thinking of this Five Year Plan and they have consulted many people from other countries, from this country, panels of scientists and all kinds of people, and no doubt they will produce a draft Third Five Year Plan, may be three months' or four months' time the first draft for the consideration of the country to be finalised a year later into the Third Plan. But now all this approach is a pragmatic approach, an approach with certainly some ideals in view. Undoubtedly, one does not approach without an objective.

The objective is that India, which has put her foot and herself in the modern world, holding tight—I will always say—to her cultural inheritance, if you like, spiritual inheritance, because I do not think there is the slightest conflict between that and the modern world. There is a tremendous conflict in our social customs, many of them and the modern world. But I admit and we have to

resolve it: either stick to the social customs and no modern world, or to the modern world and give up some of these social customs as we have been doing, and so advancing standards of living, on a basis by and large in politics equality of opportunity. So, the Planning Commission will produce that and we shall have all opportunities striking through politics. So, the real difficulty comes in in the resources part. And the resources may come from abroad to help us. We shall welcome but inevitably the greatest burden has to be borne by the people and it is a good thing that it is so. It would not be worthwhile if we advance entirely or largely by other people's help. The only way for a community or for a nation to develop is to go through hardship, is through hard work. Soft living does not make a nation great or an individual great; certainly it does not make for advance. So, please remember that this resolution is a resolution of implementation or rather drawing the attention to this important thing. Now then, it goes on.

You find a greater part of this resolution in a sense, it applies to all of us, but the greater part of this resolution really refers to the administrative apparatus. Now, in the course of the speeches delivered by various people, by various members today, there is a contradiction. A number of speakers criticised rather strongly the administrative apparatus. One delegate from Bombay specially used quite strong language. He said that all the fault lay with the administration and the way it worked. Mr Tyagi²⁹ on the other hand got rather angry at the framing of this resolution, which he took to mean something much more than it certainly meant. He seems to think that, when we talked about the administration at all levels, something about working with speed, efficiency and integrity. Now he seems to think that was a doubt cast on the integrity of our services.

There has been some talk in the Press and otherwise about this question of integrity and about corruption and all that. I am not going into that now. But it is obvious that in a vast country like India and more specially during a period of change, cases of corruption and lack of integrity occur. We must take a straight view of it. But so far as I am concerned, and after all, I am in some position to know what happens in the country, but not everything, but in some position to know what happens in the administration not only at the Centre but in the States. My own impression is that on this question of corruption and integrity, our nation and our country occupies a much higher position than most countries. Now, obviously that is a comparative statement I have made. I am not satisfied with that and I know that in some departments or other, there is more lack of integrity than in others. That is true and we fight that and we will fight that and we will seek your cooperation in this, and for my part I want to

29. Mahavir Tyagi, Lok Sabha MP from Dehradun, UP.

take strong steps wherever one finds a case. There are difficulties which all of you know, difficulties, legal difficulties because some times one has some kind of a moral conviction but no proof. Everywhere you find this is a common factor. But so far as our services are concerned, of course, services cover a huge field. Today in our services, I do not know. I have got the figures; but there are millions and millions of people in the State services, Central Government or States; there are millions of people; the Railway itself has nearly a million and a quarter today. The Posts and Telegraphs have got a lot; all these States, the Central Offices and State Offices a vast number of them. I cannot obviously answer for all this, all kinds of people; but so far as our senior services are concerned, I think that their standards are quite high; I cannot guarantee every one; but I think their standards so far as integrity is concerned are high. I may not always consider their standards of ability very high although that also is a fairly high standard. Therefore, when we use the word "integrity" here, we are not condemning anybody but laying stress on something which is essential and most important.

Mr Tyagi seems to think that we are attacking the army. But the Army of course does not come into the picture at all. We are talking about more specially the administrative services, the civil administration, planning, more especially. What has been said here is completely right. That is a fair statement that our services are competent. I think taken by and large that is a very correct statement. But some of our people in higher services are more than competent. They are very good; some are not. But the real difficulty is that it is not their fault; if anything, it is our fault, if you like. The old methods, procedure and rules and regulations were drawn up for a different set of circumstances in British times; we have changed them of course to some extent lately in the last few years, but not enough. Those rules and regulations were drawn up if I may use the word from the point of view of attaining perfection. But in our trying to attain perfection there were all kinds of checks and counter-checks and references and this and that; that of course will not lead to perfection at all. It leads just to negation and to stopping things moving. Now, in a static economy that kind of a thing does not matter much. But when we are talking about speed and change and building this and building that, it makes a tremendous lot of difference. That has been pointed out to us by every competent foreign observer who has come. A man called Paul Appleby, who came here just to observe, spent months and months, and he said we have excellent services but your rules and your methods are quite out of date.³⁰ It has nothing to do with a socially advancing State. They were very good in British times. That has been pursuing us. We

30. See SWJN/SS/22/pp. 132-33.

knew this is not a new thing. Now for the first time this Congress puts this down clearly and specifically. And I think we should indeed have welcomed this particular approach.

Now, there are one or two matters. You see in this resolution a clear affirmation of the Nagpur resolutions. It is not necessary; one Congress need not affirm other Congress resolutions. But it is thought desirable to do so because of all the arguments that are going on in the country. We are convinced that the Nagpur resolutions were right and completely right in what they said and fairly considerable progress has been made on the lines of Nagpur resolutions, if you call this I like to be swifter still.

We believe so far as the agricultural pattern is concerned, we believe in what is set out there, that is to say, we are concentrating on service cooperatives. But we feel that cooperative farming is a better form, a higher form of organisation and more profitable ultimately; but always higher forms require higher development, higher training. Merely putting some kind of an outer sheet round something without inner content will do no good. I believe that cooperative farm in the manner described in the Congress resolution is not only right but most profitable and the most scientific. You remember that farm ownership of land does not change; ownership remains with the peasant or the farmer but he joins in cooperative farming for various purposes and shares in this production. But I have no doubt that he will profit greatly by it and the community will profit by it, village community, but that has to come. First of all, of course, it has to be voluntary, because any other form will fail; practically it will fail, leave out other things. It has to be voluntary and it requires an amount of training; in fact all cooperatives require some training, that particularly. Therefore, we say if we lay stress on this training part, but for the present, our principal drive is for service cooperatives. If any group of farmers in a village want to convert their service cooperatives into joint farming, they can do so with our goodwill and blessing. Let us concentrate on this. There is no need to argue about these matters but concentrate on the immediate issue.

Shri Ram Subagh Singh³¹ said something that nobody has looked into this cooperative farming; there has been no enquiry by the Reserve Bank or others. His information is not correct. It has been looked into and in fact the Reserve Bank has spent quite a lot of time in enquiring and sending people to enquire and has presented quite useful reports on the subject too. I must say talking about the Reserve Bank that it has been doing quite excellent work in these enquiries, social enquiries and the rest which had been very helpful to us.

31. MP and Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

Also he complained about new ploughs when the price of iron has gone up. I do not think there is much in that complaint. New ploughs even today, modern ploughs can be obtained at twenty-five, thirty, forty rupees, depends on the size of the plough; anything from twenty-five to seventy-five rupees you can get quite new ploughs. [...] I am prepared to accept that our States have left this matter too much to the farmer, to the peasant; they should have taken the initiative in procuring these ploughs and giving them at suitable prices, if you like, hire purchase system if you like, giving it to them, taking the price after the harvest at cost. Undoubtedly, they will improve cultivation; and I have been stressing this lately and I hope that in a year or two there won't be any old ploughs left in India.

Mr. Biswanath Das³² of Orissa was rightly indignant about the States being not treated fairly. That is to say the rich getting more help and the poor less help or no help. Well, if I may say so, with all respect, I agree with his broad approach and not with his conclusions. We have to help the less developed States more. Unfortunately, it is the law of life that, if I may use the biblical phrase, "and to those that have more is given." You cannot help that, simply because you get results out of it. If you cannot get results out of something, you wait; but that you cannot help. But nevertheless, I think it should be within our power to help these less developed States to develop their resources further. I dare say that there is a great deal of desire to have major factories. They are welcome of course if they can have them. But instead of thinking in having a large number of small factories, small industries and agriculture itself in all these States, broadly speaking, Orissa is purely an agricultural State. Let it have factories by all means. But the first step in agriculture should be, if I may respectfully say so, concentration on better agriculture, better ploughs, better ways, better cooperatives. Out of these cooperatives will come the small industries. That will be the real growth. In fact, one reason for having cooperatives is because that will inevitably lead to small industries. Otherwise, we can simply get a moneyed person to start small industry. He can do so. Certainly, if you don't get a wide crop of them. Take the other States, Uttar Pradesh, which is very largely also an agricultural State; and personally, I would very much welcome some big plants to be established there. Let them be established. But the fact remains that the growth of the people there would be through better agriculture and small industries.

I have taken a good deal of the time of this House in trying to explain what I understand this resolution to be. It is a resolution of implementation. It is a

32. Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

resolution of as far as possible fixing responsibility on individuals because our present manner of work does not fix that responsibility; the result is that you cannot praise or blame anybody for what is being done. Sometimes you cannot fix responsibility at all, of course, it is mixed team work. That is true. But still, I think we could advance pretty fast if many checks were removed in our way and it would be better for us to even take risks, risk of loss, risk of mistakes being made, than to have this fear of not doing anything, in case it is criticised.

Today, we have a parliamentary system of Government which I think is a very good system and which I think need not necessarily delay, if we agreed to it. The fact remains, if I may say so, that a great deal of apprehension has grown in our good workers—good civil servants, good engineers—they dare not take initiative lest they might be hauled in to the courts or in Parliament. It is a fact, of course, Parliament cannot give up its right. It should not do so. But if this results in putting a stop to initiative, then we suffer.

The other day, some months ago, one of our eminent engineers came to me. It was about a big scheme he was doing. He said, "I would like to do this." Very good. "There is ninety per cent chance of success and ten per cent of failure. I dare not," he said. I said, "So far as I am concerned, you go ahead and bear the burden of failure, which is only ten per cent." If I have faith, I think when he says, ninety per cent success, I said, go ahead. If we are afraid of possible failure, we will never go ahead. The fact remains, if the ten per cent or one per cent of failure comes, the poor man is hauled over the coals all over, in Parliament and elsewhere, and all his past record goes for nothing: and he will not propose anything in future. This has a deadening effect. How we can find a balance between these things? Because one must have control over these things. One must have a check on these things, and yet it is important that we should encourage initiative.

Now Shri Shyamnandan Mishra said something about the sense of integration. He [felt we] lacked certain emotional integration like we should produce this in the country. Naturally, if we can succeed in producing this emotional integration in any individual or a community or in the nation, that is wonderful. What more can you expect? That is a greater success than any five year plan or anything can be. We always try to approach that though it becomes more and more difficult in this complicated civilisation. But we can and should be integrated about certain important things, [...] certain aspects. There is no reason why we should not, and we can only do that if we can keep in view the major facts of the situation, and have a sense of integrated approach in ourselves. If we have not got it ourselves, we cannot convey it to others. Therefore, now the feeling, that arguments, theoretical arguments, ideological arguments, while they have a place undoubtedly in any thinking community and we should have

them,—and all our professors, and economists, and statisticians and others can indulge in them and examine everything from their points of view—the fact remains that so far as the people are concerned, it is the results that count. Not the argument. It is the implementation that counts. Once they see something implemented, that gives them satisfaction. Therefore, all the stress on implementation in this, instead of our going on about philosophies and ideologies.

I hope therefore that if and when you accept this resolution, you will appreciate that what it has said in moderate language—of course not without any flourishes—nevertheless, behind that moderate language lies strong feeling, the strong necessity for action and for going ahead. There can be no doubt that there is, in a way, very serious challenge to us. Really, in the ultimate analysis, it is a question of survival for our country.

We argue. One of our friends speaking on this resolution spoke about the troubles inside the Congress. We will certainly discuss them if you like. But that very approach seemed to me to symbolise the real trouble in the Congress; that is, some of us are so engaged, entangled in the petty things, that we can't think of the big things. They will always remain entangled in petty things; they remain petty inevitably. How can we grow? The real thing is, if I may say so, to get out of these petty wrangles, is to look far ahead, and take up the big things and work for them, and there is field enough there for all the 400 million people of India. [Applause]

16. To the Subjects Committee: International Affairs³³

Mr. President Sir, Comrades,

I must express my gratitude in a somewhat—I confess—perverted sense to a few Members who have moved amendments here. I am not referring to the last amendment about Goa, but the other one which was moved with some by Mr Kali Mukerji³⁴ and Banarasi Das³⁵ and last of all, in the stentorian voice of Dr Sanyal.³⁶ Why I say, I express my gratitude is that it is a good thing that this question should be brought up definitely before this House and not casually disposed of. Let us think about it and argue and give a firm and clear verdict;

33. Speech during the debate on the International affairs resolution in the Subjects Committee of the AICC, Sadashivanagar, Bangalore, 15 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

34. Member, West Bengal PCC.

35. General Secretary, UPCC.

36. Nalinaksha Sanyal.

because no doubt Dr. Sanyal and others realise that what they have suggested almost as if it was an accidental and incidental thing, is to uproot the whole basis of our foreign policy not only in the last few years, but I would say ever since the Congress started thinking about these matters, long before Independence. It was no small matter to talk so lightly about uprooting the basic policy of India which we have proclaimed from the housetops, which has carried India's name high all over the world; and here, if a Member should come and lightly talk about upsetting it — take off this sentence, or this paragraph from it, as if it is a casual matter. They do not realise that there is something better; much bigger issues are at stake in saying these words. I can understand that perhaps as indeed some of them seem to say, that they have been brought this thing because they are terribly afraid about what might happen to our country, if somebody doesn't come up with this and that to protect us, give the big guns to protect us, therefore let us not close the door to somebody coming, indeed let us invite him to come. Let us say, one party say: let us tell him to come; the other will say: but no, let us not tell him, but let us show him, the door is open, if you want him he will come. That is Dr Sanyal's attitude: those take every step not to say so, but to convince the other party that your policy is changed and you might require his help, in time of need.

I am astounded that such a voice should be raised in this House which has stood for self-reliance, which has stood for logic, which has stood for good sense, and which has at any rate avoided the uttermost folly in its speeches. What, from what point of view, do you judge this matter? Is it your, if you like, idealism, or whatever you may like to call it? I am prepared to accept that you push out idealism from this House, although I believe in idealism and I do believe that if nations really want to come together and do something big it can always be for an idealistic motive and not a crude motive! [Applause]

Yesterday we considered a resolution which you passed today.³⁷ Behind that resolution as was said, even then lay very big things, lay the changing world, changing India, the raising of 400 million people from a certain, almost a submerged state, to higher levels of existence. Behind that lay the strength of India, of making India strong, economically and otherwise. Behind that lay facing and taking up and facing great challenges to us, economic, military frontier, all those things, and some of our friends come and said, let us do something to energise the people, to vitalise them. Something, something to make them emotionally react and realise the urgency of the situation. Quite right. Here you have seen something said today which instead of energising

37. Resolution on Planning and Development. See item 14.

any nation, any people, deaden their spirit and make them lie low. Asking further, is this what Congress has come to? I am astonished and amazed that voices should be raised in the name of the defence of India. Is India so weak? Has this Congress become such a body with so much fear in it that it should give up everything that it has stood for in the realm of foreign policy if [not] in the realm of ideals—not now, I say, not even since Independence, but long before that, and ultimately almost appeal to our people to rely on others to help us! I feel the sooner it is dead and gone before such a thing is said from this platform and sooner the voices are raised in the Congress and we may make mistakes. But we have never said anything which might shame our nation. This kind of a thing puts a black mark on the Congress and shows that there are some people at least in this organisation who have neither courage nor determination nor idealism nor faith in our people and therefore, I speak with some warmth about it.

There is another small matter before the amendments to be moved or rejected. Mr Biswanath Das said, Dr Sanyal said: let us not stick to any slogan or any cry which comes in the way of India's defence. True, true, true. Let us also not stick to any reason, any logic any commonsense, or whatever else you may like to say. Who is going to defend India? Does Dr Sanyal expect foreign armies marching to defend our borders? Does Mr Banarsi Das expect these armies to come and stand there as guardians of the masses on the mountain tops? There was a proposal made even for our neighbour country Pakistan entering into a Defence Pact with us.

Now, we hope that our relations with Pakistan will go on improving. It has improved. I am happy for that. That is said I think in the next resolution; and we hope that this process will continue because Pakistan and India have been one and we have intimate contact; and it has been painful for us to have this period of bitterness and conflict. But that, as I said, what does this mean this business of military pacts? Does it mean foreign armies marching across our territory? Let us examine. You want any armies of any country; I would not name them to come in large numbers? Do you really expect these armies to come here in large numbers? Is it feasible? It is not, I say. Secondly, even if it was feasible, I doubt that this congress will ever agree to it, foreign armies marching whatever the consequences, I will not make any exception I say whatever the consequences, we will not have foreign armies on our soil. We have had enough of them in the past and we should at least learn from experience if not from wisdom. Now, if that is so, what else do we get? Help, armed help, [...] weapons—that is a possibility. One might get some kind of modern equipment, etc., etc., it is a possibility. It is open to us to get that from any country we choose. Nobody prevents us. We can get it. What exactly then happens when we go and line up as faithful standard-bearers of this group or

that group. What does it mean, except that India ceases to have any individuality, except that this great country which is represented to some extent by this great organisation, ceases to stand on its own feet or legs or head or anything but are merely camp followers of other countries joined in SEATO, CENTO, all these odd things that have arisen and which have done no good to anybody. Does Dr Sanyal know or will he tell me how any country belonging to SEATO, CENTO has profited by it, I should like to know, was strengthened by it. I say, it has [been] weakened by it.

How else do we put forward these amazing arguments? And when, at what period, do we do so? At a moment when a large part of the world which doubted our policies in the past has become more and more convinced of their rightness; and in its own way is coming India's way today? It's an extraordinary thing. When the fundamental rightness of our policies has dawned and is being accepted; and countries, great countries, are moving towards that end. Some of our Members of the All India Committee should without realising what has happened in the world, what is happening today in the world, where the world is going to, should raise this cry of a weakling, and a person who has no courage to face challenges. I want more challenges to come to India to wake up people in this country and I am glad of this challenge in the frontier, let me tell you: I am glad of it, that out of this composure, [...] and out of that softness that comes over the country, I hope it will shake them out of it. Of course when a big challenge comes, people cannot remain quiet and they either go forward and meet it, or collapse. And I am afraid this organisation is not going to fall into the latter category even though some of our members might suggest it.

What I do want is the House to look at this problem in the widest possible way as well as the narrowest practical way. Here we have stood before the world with a certain policy. Certainly, it was idealistic, but in the final analysis it is perfectly true that no policy, no foreign policy, can function on the basis of pure idealism. It cannot. It has to serve naturally the interests of the country. If there is a conflict between idealism and material interests of the country an individual may be an idealist, but a Government can seldom be idealistic to that extent. It cannot simply. People cannot sacrifice. Now therefore, the policy that India has framed was inevitably a policy of what would benefit India's interests as well as the larger interests India seeks to subserve. It was in line with that policy which we had broadly thought of before we became independent; for the last twenty to thirty years before we became independent. Of course, the position changed. But broadly it was that. And it was a fortunate circumstance that our ideals, impulses, our urges serve the causes we have at heart in the world that it fitted in with our material interests in India. There is no conflict. If there is a conflict, naturally it would have been this way or that way. And we

would have come to some possible conclusions which either would not have fitted in with middle conclusion or which had a certain bias in one direction. But fortunately that was not so. Our material interest as well as our wider urges fitted in. And therefore I said often enough that no Government of India as far as I could judge could have followed any other policy, even apart from our present Government, because that policy was rooted in the thinking of India for a long time past. That policy was rooted in the interests of India, and that policy further was rooted in a certain line of action, or line of thought or action, if you like, which was wholly opposed to the purely military line of thinking. Of course, one has to think about military matters—army, navy, air force, defence, navy, etc. But trying to consider political problems from the purely military point of view, fortunately, we have not been used to it, and I hope we will never be used to that. The military problem is considered in the military sphere, not to govern the political sphere. And the result is that today, one of the chief difficulties in the wide world has been that grave political problems have been considered from the military point of view only. And the military point of view is helpful, is needed in its proper sphere, but it comes in the way of any other kind of approach, political or other, which takes into consideration many other factors. My point is that the policy of non-alignment and with which is inevitably associated not having any military alliance, and I just do not understand how the ingenious mind of Dr Sanyal separates the two. It really passes my comprehension how we should be non-aligned, but we should have a military alliance. It is really, this a fine kind, not only of juggling with words, but imagining that we shall be able to lead or mislead another country by juggling with words is, I think, not very fitting for a great organisation like this. How when you say, “oh, we leave the door open to military alliances, but we shall not have alignment.” What does it mean except pure nonsense!

Now, let us therefore take the major thing about alignment, or non-alignment. Alignment and non-alignment mean ultimately in the military sphere, because in the mental sphere you mean turn this way you may have sympathy here, you may agree with this. But it really means in the military sphere, it means, more particularly it has meant in the past, in this area of Asia, SEATO on the one side and what used to be Baghdad Pact or CENTO on the other, or something like that now. I would like the Hon’ble Members just to look back and try to find out what SEATO has done to the countries belonging to it or the CENTO and what the Baghdad pact has done to the countries belonging to it.

How far it has strengthened them, how far it has strengthened any defence even or in anything or in self-reliance. I have not seen it anywhere. You have actual evidence. Of course you have received arms of course. But arms are the least gift that one wants to strengthen oneself to and one could have got other

things too. I suppose. One could get arms otherwise too, I suppose. What does all this mean? What does it mean? I repeat, do Hon'ble Members, if you expect foreign armies to come and sit on our Himalayan peaks to defend our country? You can take it from me, that the moment our Indian army cannot do so, India's freedom is lost. That does not matter who has done it or may not do it. I am confident. I am convinced that the Indian Army, Air Force or Navy, Air Force, are not so feeble as to allow this to happen. So that, from the strictly practical point of view, you would, and you could not get real help in the defence of our frontiers. No country in the wide world can help you except may be in some arms and equipment. It does not matter if you can get it. You have to face this with your own strength and with your own gallant men; and the moment you fail to realise that and rely on others, that moment you are injured, and you have caused a great injury to something which is very precious and that is the Indian people realising that we have to stand on our own feet. The moment you do that, a kind of vague Maginot Line mentality will crop in, others will look after us, others will defend us, other will do this—and you will grow soft. That psychology is supreme; and that is the worst thing that can happen to any country, which faces grave dangers.

So, from any point of view, from the most practical, most opportunist point of view of idealist, whatever you like, you arrive at the conclusion that it would be very wrong and harmful for countries even to think of aligning itself with power blocks or having military alliances. That does not mean, I repeat, that the development of the closest friendly relations which we do with any country and with all countries. It does not mean our internal policy being affected if we follow according to our wishes, according to our decisions.

Now look at this question apart from the narrow viewpoint of our own country, important as that is, from the wider point of view. We have raised our voices in the past few years against this system of military alliances and cold war. I am not criticising—I dare not criticise any other country for what it has done, because they were faced by special circumstances. Who am I to go and criticise them because they joined military alliance or something else, I mean, even though I may think that it has not done good. I am concerned with my own country. But whatever may have been right or justified some years ago, we have to consider the matter today, and I think it may be said today that the policy of military alliance, that the policy of cold war has not brought any rich results to the world. It may, I am not prepared to deny that, it may at some period ten to twelve years ago after the big war had been almost considered inevitable by some countries for defence. I am not denying that. But anyhow, in the last few years, the spread of this policy to Asia has not added to anybody's security, the world security or any country's security. It has diverted people's

thinking from economic progress and real strength, and trying to bolster up the country by some military means only which can only be temporary. It has really come in the way of this country's progress and growing strength.

Anyhow, today, you look round and see what is happening, in this wide world, now people have realised that, Great Powers have realised, their great leaders have realised that this type of policy does not pay. They have not realised this from high idealistic motives, although they may very well have their motives, but from the strictest practical point of view and so there are talks about summit meetings and conferences and the like.

President Eisenhower came here some weeks ago and he was given as you know a very great welcome. Why was he welcomed in that way? He would have been welcomed anyhow, being a great leader of a great nation. But he was welcomed with that tremendous warmth because he became a sort of symbol, in people's eyes of a man of peace seeking peace in the world. That was why he was welcomed not because of the armed strength of the United States [Applause] and if Mr Khrushchev has been welcomed in the past and will be welcomed now if he comes here, it is because of the undoubted fact that Mr Khrushchev in the last not only few months, but years, has deliberately been seeking the peace of the world.

It is all very well for Mr Kali Mukerjee and others to talk bravely as some others do about International Communism and the rest. I wish Mr Kali Mukerjee would exercise his own mind and not repeat other people's phrases and try to understand what is happening in the world. There is International Communism, there is international capitalism, there are many international organisations, it is rather difficult to define these things. To talk in that loose way does not help any clear thinking and does not represent the facts of the case today. We have to deal with Communism in our own country, with a certain Communist Party in our own country which has shown in recent months, how at the moment of national danger it not only wobbles but wobbles the wrong way. True, we have to deal with that situation and we shall deal with it, no doubt. But today, the world requires thinking on other lines than what Mr Kali Mukerjee and Dr Sanyal seem to represent and indeed, the world is thinking on other lines. Somehow, they have been left in the backwaters of thought and they have missed what has happened in the world. They do not realise it. I am sure that this Committee, this House does realise it and the world is going in a particular direction and that direction, I do not say that they have learnt anything from us. That would be foolish, if I may say so, but it so happens that circumstances have brought the world thinking nearer to Indian thinking in these matters and the world is moving in that direction and the respect that India has in the world today, it is very considerable and I must inform Mr Kali Mukerjee or whoever

who was talking about no friends and friendship—friendship according to him, presumably consists in your surrendering your body and soul to somebody else's keeping in defence. If that is friendship, I will rather not have that friendship, I will have no such friendship at that cost. But it is a fact that India is honoured today, even in the eyes of the other countries of the world wherever they may be whether they are communist or whether they are capitalist, whether socialist or whatever they are, India's voice carries some weight, not because of our army, not because of our money, but because of our policy, because of our idealism [Applause], and this is a most precious asset that we have built up, these three gallant musketeers want us to throw away and become slaves of others [Applause].

17. To the All India Congress Women's Organisation Session³⁸

I am just coming from the Subjects Committee Meeting of the Congress and even while standing here I can hear the speech that is being delivered there. Now, this is very confusing to me, half my mind is there and half here. Since yesterday, in the Congress Subjects Committee we have been discussing some resolutions. Yesterday, rather today, we passed two resolutions; and the third is being discussed.³⁹

Now, I should like to draw your attention to those resolutions of the Congress, because those resolutions are meant for everybody all over the country, men and women alike. And I may tell you what our course of action should be in future and what we should do in order to realise our objectives. Because it is not enough for us merely to deliver speeches to others, but to realise what our duty is and what we ourselves must do.

Now, we all want to raise our country. At first we fought for the freedom of our country, Swaraj; after a long struggle, we attained it; then immediately we had to take up another big struggle, that is, to raise our 400 million people of India, and that is the struggle in which we are in today. In our struggle for Swaraj, you know that the women of India played a great part, and I think it was the women's part that gave tremendous strength to struggle and helped us in achieving this Swaraj. Now, therefore, in the present struggle to raise our people, all 400 million people of India, which is even more important, that

38. Speech at Sadasivanagar, Bangalore, 15 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

39. See items 12-14.

women should play their part, because this is not a struggle only to men of India but all the people of India. In our struggle for Swaraj, many men and many women went to prison and suffered lathi charges and all kinds [...] in many other ways. Now today, this struggle does not mean going to prison or facing lathi charges; but it means hard work, because without hard work no country, no people can progress, we aim in building a new India, an India Bharat where every person, every man and woman and child will be well looked after and will have opportunity for growth; and that is a very big undertaking, and we can only do it if all of us work hard to do it. It cannot come by passing laws; it comes by our own hard work; and in this way we want to build up not only big schemes, not only a big building, not only hospitals, and schools—all those are necessary—but we have got to build up fine men and women. We have got to build up our children to grow into good citizens of India.

Now, perhaps, it may be said that of all the planning we do, all the great schemes we do, building great factories, plants, agricultural schemes, dams and river valley schemes, etc., the most important thing is to build good men and women; because first of all, it is the men and women who build the factories and the dams, etc., and secondly, dams and factories are meant for the men and women, not for themselves. Therefore, the first thing is to build good men and women and build them up from childhood. A country's greatest treasure is its trained population. Now, in building men and women and children, whose part is the greater? The men's part or the women's? Obviously, the mother's part is the greatest of all. The father's part comes next. It is the mother who trains, teaches and with her love and affection she makes her children grow. If the mother does that well, children are good healthy and make good citizens when they grow up so that the women's part in a nation's growth is even more important than the man's. That is so. But if women have got to train their children, to teach their children; they must themselves be trained and well-educated. If they are not trained themselves, how can they teach their children? Therefore, it becomes important that you should send this message to all our womenfolk and you must train themselves not only in theory but by work by setting an example so that their children may also grow up rightly.

Now, the second thing I want to tell you is this: that we are passing through in India a great period of our history and we are trying to make this country good and strong and prosperous. This is not done merely by Government officials, by laws, but by the work and labour of all our people. You may be able to do a little, but if all other millions do a little each, it makes a great deal when taken together. You must not wait for Government to do something, we must work in our villages or in our towns or wherever we may be, and do our little bit to further the national progress.

What are we to do? You have got, you might know, Five Year Plans. What is the Five Year Plan? Panch Varshe Yojana. What is it? It is a plan to build up India, to build up our people, to build up our villages, to build factories, to build up our fields, to be good to our peasants, to build schools, to build hospitals and to do so many other things, because, in a great country like India, there is so much to be done in the village, in the cities, in the towns, so much to be done for education, for health. Now, we cannot leave any of these things, we have to do all of them, some can do one thing, some other things; each one of us must do the things that he can do.

At present, our villages are very backward and the people of our villages are poor and they have not got even the normal advantages that people in the cities have. Bangalore is a beautiful city. You have many advantages here. But if you go to the villages, these advantages are much less. Now, we shall be happy if Bangalore grows more prosperous, but the major problem before us is to raise our villages and make them better, give the opportunity of a good life to our village folk, and the little children who grow up in villages without those advantages. You must remember that in India eighty per cent of the population lives in villages. How can India go up if the villages do not prosper? Therefore, we want our peasantry and others in the village, to be helped, to work, and be given opportunities to work hard, so that they may prosper. If you live in the villages, you should take part in the work of the village, whether it is agriculture or whether it is anything else. The women of the village should take part and I hope the women in the village will also be represented in the panchayats of the villages, in the cooperatives of the village.

Those of you who live in cities have a great deal of work to do in the cities. But you must remember that it is your duty also to do some work in the villages among your sisters there. You have been fortunate in the cities by getting many advantages; therefore, share your good fortunes with the sisters in the villages; go there whenever you can and help them to grow.

In order to make our country more prosperous, we have to produce more. We have to, by our work, labour, we have to produce more wealth, more of the things we require. We have to produce more from the fields, foodgrains and other agricultural products, and we have to produce in our factories many things that we want. We have to produce from our village industries also many things. The more we produce from fields and factories, the more the nation becomes prosperous and people become better. Therefore, one of our principal objectives today is to produce more, whether in the field or the factory. In this you can help also, especially in the villages. Whether it is in agricultural operations or whether it is in the gramodyog, you can do a little, whatever your job may be. You may use charka, what you call Ambar Charkha, and produce something. It

may be little, but if many people do it, it becomes a great deal. Thereby you add to the wealth of the village and of the country and of your own. The point is that everyone should help in producing something. Those of you who have had good education ought to share it with others, teach others, teach little children or grown-ups. Those of you who had some medical knowledge, share it with others, whenever you can, thus trying to help in the best way you can.

I understand that in Bangalore, there is going to be a great Bal Bhavan, Children's palace. That is very good. But I should like Bal Bhavan in every village in this State and in India; not a big palace, but a simple Bal Bhavan where children could go and play and learn. I hope the time will come when every village will have it, but today we cannot do that because our resources are limited. Therefore, we have to increase our resources, and that can be done only by hard work and production.

The first resolution that was passed today by the Congress Subjects Committee dealt with our economic programme.⁴⁰ It is a long resolution. But I hope some one will tell you now or later what it is, because you must understand what the country has got to do and help to the extent possible for you in doing it. Everything ultimately depends upon our *arthic* progress, because unless we all have food to eat, cloth to wear, and a house to live in, and education and health, we cannot be a big nation. You can only have that by our economic progress. Therefore, that is the basic and most important thing, for that is contained in the first resolution of the Congress. That is so. There is another aspect of it, because we can only retain, keep our freedom, if we are strong enough and strength comes from prosperity and good economic progress. Therefore also, in order to maintain our Swaraj we have to work hard and make our country prosperous.

You have heard I suppose of the dangers to India from across our frontiers, across the Himalayan mountains. This has created a grave and dangerous situation for all of us because, if we cannot protect our country adequately, what else can we do? Not only will we fail, but we cannot make any further progress. So, we have to face this danger, and while that situation will be dealt with by our armed forces, ultimately it leans on the strength of the nation, of the men and women, their spirit, their morale, and their hard work.

Now, I shall end. My good wishes to all of you and Jai Hind! Will you say Jai Hind, I say Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind! [Applause]

40. See item 14.

18. To the Plenary Session: Programme Implementation⁴¹

अध्यक्ष महोदय और साथियो,

अभी आपने जो एक व्याख्यान सुना इस प्रस्ताव पर,⁴² इसमें मेरी काफी चर्चा उन्होंने किया। और कहा कि मुझमें बहुत गुण हैं। लेकिन एक खामी, एक दुर्बलता भी रही कि काँग्रेस संस्था को मजबूत नहीं बनाया मैंने।⁴³ यों और सिद्धान्त की बातें बहुत अच्छी कहीं। तो यह बात तो सही है, खाली यह कमजोरी, यह दुर्बलता, मेरी नहीं, हम सभी की हो गयी है। खैर, क्योंकि हम सभी की जिम्मेदारी इस बात की रही कि हम इस संस्था को ऐसा बनायें जिससे वो तेजी से आगे बढ़ सके। लेकिन अब मैं इस पेंच में पड़ गया जब अध्यक्ष ने मुझे बुलाया कि अब मैं काँग्रेस संस्था के बारे में आपसे कुछ कहूँ कि उस प्रस्ताव के बारे में। क्योंकि काँग्रेस संस्था का प्रश्न काफी गंभीर है और हर साल हम सोचते हैं। और शायद यह भी बात है कि काँग्रेस की संस्था की जो कमजोरियाँ हैं वो भारत की जनता की कमजोरियाँ हैं। अगर हैं, वो निकल कर आती हैं उस संस्था में जो उनकी नुमाइन्दगी करते हैं। लेकिन यह सही बात है कि हमें हर समय विचार करना चाहिए कि कैसे इस संस्था को हम जहाँ-जहाँ आवश्यक हो, बदलते जायें, आगे बढ़ायें। नयी दुनिया में उसको एक नया वस्त्र पहनायें, जो कुछ करना है, करें। क्योंकि एक चीज़ एक खास समय में, खास काम के लिए बने। यह कोई निश्चय नहीं है कि वह हर समय में हर काम के लिए चले। तो इस पर भी विचार करना है।

अभी इस बात पर कुछ प्रस्ताव भी आये। आज नहीं, पिछले ऑल इंडिया काँग्रेस कमेटी में आये थे। कुछ छोटी कमेटी ने विचार भी किया। और फिर यह सोचा कि वो प्रस्ताव इतने दूर तक ले जाते हैं कि इस समय काँग्रेस में उसको पेश करना कठिन है। इसलिए एक ऑल इंडिया काँग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक विशेषकर इसीलिए हो कि सोचें इन बातों पर। कठिन समस्याएँ हैं। क्योंकि काँग्रेस स्वतंत्रता के पहले एक बड़ा भारी आन्दोलन था, एक मूवमेंट थी। वो खाली एक दल नहीं था। अब इसके बाद हल्के-हल्के इसमें एक दल होने की भी बातें आ गयीं। जैसे लोकसभा के सदन में काँग्रेस सबसे बड़ी एक पार्टी है, और पार्टी भी हैं। इस तरह से किसी क़दर देश में भी बात हुई। माना कि हम बहुत फैले हैं, बहुत बड़े हैं, लेकिन कुछ न कुछ वो झलक आ जाती है।

तो हमारे दो पहलू हो जाते हैं। एक तो एक देश का काम करना- हमारा उस मूवमेंट का और दूसरे एक दल होना। काम चाहे एक ही हो, दो ढँग हो जाते हैं। और उसमें बहस भी हो,

41. Speech during the debate on the resolution on the Implementation of Programmes of Planned Development at the plenary session of the INC, Sadashivnagar, Bangalore, 16 Januray 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

42. On the Implementation of Programmes of Planned Development.

43. Indrajit C. Desai from Bombay moved an amendment, which called for the reorganisation of the Congress. "While Mr. Nehru's policies and Programmes," according to Desai, "were sound and perfect, he had not organised the organisation as to make it capable of carrying out those policies and programmes."

कि किस पर हम अधिक ज़ोर दें और यह कठिन है कि हम किसी को भी छोड़ दें उसमें से। क्योंकि काँग्रेस अगर खाली दल हो गयी तो उसकी, जो चीज़ थी वो अब तक इस साठ-सत्तर वर्ष से, वो चीज़ कुछ बदल जाती है। उसका रूप बदल जाता है। दूसरे अगर वो खाली मूवमेंट रही, दल नहीं तो भी कठिनाई है क्योंकि एक दल की, एक पार्टी की हैसियत से भी हमें काम करना है। ये एक बुनियादी पेचीदगी आ गयी है। और मेरे सामने कोई उस गौंट को सुलझाने का आसान तरीका नहीं है। हल्के-हल्के हम कोशिश करते हैं और हल्के-हल्के काँग्रेस भी अपने को बदलती जाये, लेकिन उस पर विचार करना चाहिए अवश्य। ये सब बातें जो मैंने आपसे कहीं। ये कोई प्रस्ताव से खास नहीं रखती। कौम क्योंकि एक माने में रखती हैं। लेकिन मेरा विचार है कि उतना नहीं रखती जितना कि पिछले स्पीकर साहब ने कहा।

खैर, मैं उस प्रस्ताव पर आता हूँ आप में से कुछ लोग बहुत सारे, ऑल इंडिया काँग्रेस कमेटी के सदस्य रहे। वहाँ इस पर स्पीचेज़ सुनी। अक्सर लोगों ने और भी सुनी होंगी वहाँ बैठकर या समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ी हों। मैं नहीं जानता आप पर उसका असर क्या हुआ? असर से मतलब उससे आप सहमत तो होंगे इन बातों से। क्योंकि बहुत कम लोग ऐसे हैं जो इन बातों से सहमत न हों। लेकिन सहमत होना काफी नहीं है। उसके पीछे एक हवा होनी चाहिए, एक मिजाज़ होना चाहिए, एक दिमाग होना चाहिए उस काम को करने का, आपको और देश को। इसीलिए उस प्रस्ताव में लिखा है कि कुछ टैम्पर बदलना चाहिए, कुछ काँग्रेस का। और जनता को और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को, उसका काम करने का टैम्पर, मिजाज़ बदलना चाहिए। यह अनुवाद ठीक नहीं है, लेकिन खैर। फिर भी कुछ न कुछ चल जायेगा। ये कैसे किया जाये? क्योंकि बात जो हमारे असल में समझने की है वह यह कि हम हिन्दुस्तान में एक ऐसे समय पर पहुँचे हैं जिसमें दो बातें मिली हुई हैं। एक कठिनाई और दूसरी आशा। दोनों बातें मिली हैं। कठिनाई और आशा भी, मुश्किलें भी और उम्मीदें भी। दोनों मिली हैं। जिस तरफ़ आप देख लें। कुछ लोग कठिनाई की तरफ़ देखकर सहम जाते हैं क्या करें हम? कोई और कुछ करे। अगर हमारे देश पर कोई बड़ा हमला हो तो हम दूसरे देश से कहेँ बचाओ आकर हमें? कुछ इधर दिमाग़ झुकता है। या हमारे देश को आर्थिक रूप से उठाना है। यह तो बड़ा बोझा है, कैसे इसको उठायें? तो और देश एक माने में ज़्यादा हम उससे भरोसा करें। ठीक है और देश हमारी मदद करें, मुबारक हो, हम उनसे लें। लेकिन जहाँ ये हवा हमारे दिमाग़ में आती है कि दूसरे देश पर हम भरोसा करें अधिक, हम ढीले हो जायें। तो हमारे पैर के नीचे से ज़मीन निकल जाती है और उससे हमारी तरक्की नहीं होती।

क्योंकि, आखिर में हमें इस देश में क्या बनाना है? हमें इस देश में आखिर में न तो बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनाने हैं, न हमें ये बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ चलानी हैं। हमें इस देश में आदमी बनाने हैं। आदमी और औरत बनाने हैं, तगड़े काम करने वाले, बोझा उठाने वाले, (तालियाँ)। ख़तरे, भय का सामना करने वाले। ये बनाना है इस देश को हमें। जब ऐसे लोग हो जाते हैं तो और चीज़ें अपने आप आ जाती हैं। चाहे लड़ाई हो, चाहे अमन हो, चाहे योजना हो, सब बातें चलने लगती हैं। और अगर आदमी बनाने में हमारे क़सर हो गयी कुछ औरों पे भरोसा किया। तो हो कुछ फुटकर इधर हो जायें, कुछ उधर हो जायें, लेकिन वो चीज़ तो खोखली होगी। इसलिए महज़ भरोसा औरों पर करना ठीक नहीं है। हमारे स्वराज के समय भी महात्मा

जी ने क्या हमें सिखाया था बहुत बातें सिखाईं। लेकिन असल बात तो बुनियादी एक थी, अपने पर भरोसा करना। और देशों में भी स्वराज की लड़ाई हुई, हमारे ढँग की तो नहीं हुई, अलग-अलग ढँग की। और उनको बहुत और देशों में प्रचार करते थे जाके अपनी लड़ाई का, सहायता मिली वगैरह। आप जानते हैं कि महात्मा जी एक बहुत इससे सहमत नहीं थे कि हम अपनी शक्ति इस बात में लगायें कि और देशों में जाकर उनसे सहायता माँगे। हाँ, हम और देशों को चाहते थे, उनकी हमदर्दी हमें मिले, सहानुभूति हो। ठीक है, लेकिन वो भी हम यहाँ काम करके वो अपने कान लगाकर सुन लें, हम जाके ये उनके कान में न भरें जाके। ख़ैर, वो बात ज़रा ज़्यादा हो या कम हो। मेरा मतलब यह है कि सारा गाँधी जी का काम में अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना था। क्योंकि वो जानते थे, बुनियादी बात एक देश के बदलने की है कि वहाँ के लोगों को बदलना। वहाँ के लोगों के दिल बढ़ना, अभय होना उनका और काम करने की शक्ति होनी।

दुनिया बदल गयी उस समय से, बारह बरस हुए स्वतंत्र हम हुए, बहुत बातें हुईं। और हमें नये-नये काम करने हैं। लेकिन वो बुनियादी सबक जो गाँधी जी का था उसको भूलना हमें नहीं चाहिए।

एक और बात मैं आपको बताता हूँ। इस प्रस्ताव में इस बात पर ज़ोर है कि किस तरह से हम इस देश की मनुष्य-शक्ति मैन-पावर रिसोर्सिज़ जो हैं कैसे उनका प्रयोग करें? वो ज़ाया होते जाते हैं। बहुत सारे लोग कुछ थोड़ा भी काम करें, कि एक तो यह है कि हम चाहते हैं, हमारा सारा यह ध्येय है कि हम ऐसे देश में, ज़मीन पर, खेती में, उद्योग धंधे में और और बातों में ऐसा संगठन बनायें कि एक-एक पुरुष, स्त्री जो काम करने के क़ाबिल हैं उसे काम मिले। कोई बेकार न रहे। बेकार रहना किसी एक पुरुष का भी, एक शख्स का भी, उसके लिए बुरा है, देश के लिए बुरा है। लेकिन यह कोई जादू से तो हो नहीं सकता। ये असल में उद्योग धंधों के बढ़ने से हो सकता है। इसके माने ये हैं कि आप एक नयी दुनिया में आ जायें तब उनको आप चला सकते हैं। नहीं तो आप बढ़ेंगे नहीं। आप देखें और देशों में जहाँ बेकारी हटी है वो किस तरह हटी है? इसी तरह से कि आजकल नई दुनिया की नयी शक्तियों को लगाया उन्होंने, उद्योग धंधे बढ़ाये। तो हम भी वो करेंगे, खेती में, इसमें, उसमें, वो करेंगे। उसमें समय लगता है और यह कह देना कि कोई जादू से हो जायेगा जल्दी, यह तो धोखा देना है। यह बात हमें ज़ोरों से चलानी है। सारी हमारी योजनाएँ उस तरफ़ हैं। लेकिन फिर भी ये जो समय गुज़रता है- दस बरस, पंद्रह बरस जितना समय लगे। उसमें बहुत सारी हमारी शक्ति है, जिसका ये मैन-पावर जिसको मैं कहता हूँ। जिससे हम कोई लाभ नहीं उठाते पूरे तौर से। जितने लोग रहते हैं देश में वो कुछ न कुछ खाते-पीते, पहनते हैं। कितना हो, बेचारा ग़रीब हो, फिर भी कुछ खाता-पीता है, यानी कुछ न कुछ देश का धन वो लेता है खाने पीने में, ग़रीब से ग़रीब आदमी, चाहे थोड़ा ही क्यों न हो। और अगर वो कुछ फ़ायदा न करे, तो वो कुछ धन उसे बढ़ाता नहीं। और बहुत सारे लोगों का तो इसमें कोई क़सूर नहीं है, उनको मौक़ा नहीं मिलता है। ये तो ख़राबी है हमारे आर्थिक संगठन की। लेकिन यह बात है कि बहुत सारे लोग हमारे देश में, वे काम नहीं करते या उनको मौक़ा नहीं मिलता काम करने का। मौक़े उन्हें बहुत, हल्के-हल्के मिलते जायेंगे। ये मैं मानता हूँ, फिर भी बहुत सारे हैं। अब प्रश्न यह उठता

है एक तरह से तो हम लोगों के लिए काम निकलता जायेगा। और यह याद रखिये आप, इस धोखे में न पड़िये, कि पिछले ज़माने में, बहुत काफी, लाखों को नये काम मिले हैं लेकिन आबादी भी बढ़ती जाती है। तो ये तो ये तो बात हुई। लेकिन फिर भी लोग रह जाते हैं जिनको या तो पूरा काम नहीं करते, ज़्यादा कर सकते हैं या बिल्कुल कुछ नहीं करते बिलफेल। कभी ज़रा सा कर लें। अब कैसे हम इससे लाभ उठावें? या कैसे कुछ न कुछ, यह नहीं कि हम उनके लिए काम पूरा ढूँढ़ दें, हम उनको कहीं एक नौकरी ढूँढ़ दें, हम उद्योग धंधा ढूँढ़ दें, वो तो एक अलग खाना हो गया। जितना हम कर सकते हैं करें। लेकिन पूरा नहीं कर सकते। इस तरह से हरेक आदमी कुछ-न-कुछ पैदा करें देश के धन में डालने के लिए।

अब मैं आपको एक बात याद दिलाता हूँ। यह मैन-पावर रिसोर्सेज़ आजकल हम इसका प्रयोग करते हैं। लेकिन अब गाँधी जी ने कहा था ये कि चर्खा हम चलायें। चर्खा चलाना अच्छा हो, बुरा हो, छोड़िए इस वक़्त, मैं उस बहस में नहीं जाता। लेकिन उनके मन में क्या बात थी? यही बात थी कि देश के मैन-पावर रिसोर्सेज़ कुछ न कुछ पैदा करें। माना कि एक आदमी की मज़दूरी आजकल या इस ज़माने में एक रुपया, दो रुपये रोज़ की है। और चर्खे से वो खाली छः आने कमा सकता है और अब कोई बड़े-बड़े हमारे अर्थशास्त्र के पंडित आके कहेंगे- वाह, आजकल तो साहब दो रुपये मज़दूरी है, आप कहते हैं कि छः आने रोज़ का काम करे कोई, ये कैसे कोई करेगा? और वो सारे क्लम दवात लेके इस बात को दिखा देंगे कि नहीं चलता। अर्थशास्त्र या इकॉनोमिक्स तरीके से नहीं चलती यह बात। लेकिन जो बात ग़ौर करने की है, वो नहीं ग़ौर करते कि जो आदमी कुछ नहीं करता, कुछ नहीं पैदा करता, वो छः आने पैदा करे तो कुछ न कुछ देश का धन बढ़ गया, उसका धन बढ़ गया। वो तो कुछ नहीं कर रहा है और अगर लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी यह करें तो काफी बड़ा धन बढ़ जाता है, उनके लिए और देश के लिए भी। यानी मेरा मतलब यह नहीं इस वक़्त खाली चर्खा, चर्खा तो भली चीज़ है, चलायें अपनी तरक्की के लिए। लेकिन कोई न कोई काम हम ले सकें, हम सड़क बनायें, हम ग्रामों में बहुत बातें कर सकते हैं, यह करें, और बातें। यानी कुछ न कुछ इस तरह से देश का धन बढ़ता है, हमारा लाभ होता है। क्योंकि कुछ काम करना भी एक लाभदायक होता है।

ख़ैर, लेकिन इस तरह से आप देखें जो मैंने अभी आपसे कहा कि हमारे सामने एक गाँठ है, गाँठ का एक टुकड़ा कठिनाइयों का, बोझ उठाने, का दूसरा टुकड़ा आशा का टुकड़ा है। और ये दोनों साथ चलते हैं अलग आप नहीं ले सकते। आप कहें हम खाली आशा का हिस्सा लेंगे, तो हवा में आप रहेंगे आशा में। आप कहें खाली हम करेंगे। वो दूसरा, तो बग़ैर आशा के शायद आप में हिम्मत न हो करने की। दो, लेकिन आशा तो है ही सभी को, आशा के साथ यह आवश्यक है कि हम आशा को पूरा करने के लिए, हासिल करने के लिए, रूप देने के लिए हम परिश्रम करें। और ये बिल्कुल एक आप इसको एक कानून समझ लीजिए, एक प्रकृति का कानून समझ लीजिए कि आपको उतना ही मिलेगा जितना आप परिश्रम करेंगे। कोई इसमें सदेह नहीं है। जितना देश परिश्रम करे, जितने लोग करें, उतना ही उसको मिलेगा। इक्के-दुक्के आदमी आपके किसी आर्थिक संगठन में आजकल भी और पहले ज़माने में भी बग़ैर परिश्रम किये भी कमा लेते थे और अब भी कुछ कमा लेते हैं बग़ैर परिश्रम किये, दूसरे की कमाई में हिस्सा ले लेते हैं। ये तो बात है, लेकिन प्रकृति के कानून में यह बात नहीं चलती। यह हमारे

टूटे-फूटे कानूनों में चल जाये, और वो भी हमारे टूटे-फूटे कानूनों में बहुत दिन नहीं चलेगी बात। हल्के-हल्के ये बात दुनिया में आयेगी, कि जो कमायेगा वो खायेगा। जो नहीं कमाने की कोशिश करता, उसका पेट खाली रहेगा। यानी जो समाज की सेवा में जो कमाना चाहता है।

तो कमाने के माने सेवा के हैं- देश की सेवा, अपनी जनता की सेवा, कुछ न कुछ। एक आदमी पढ़ाता है, वह खुद कमाता तो नहीं एक माने में। लेकिन बड़ा ज़बर्दस्त काम करता है, पढ़ाने वाला बड़ा काम करता है। या उस तरह से, एक डॉक्टर है कोई बेचारा बहुत, तो प्रकृति नहीं माफ़ करती किसी देश को। इसलिए नहीं कि आप परिश्रम न करें और आप लाभ उठायें परिश्रम का। ये बात नहीं चलती। तो हमारा देश इसी कानून के हिसाब से, इसको ज़ोरों से परिश्रम करना है। परिश्रम करना इसी बात में, हर तरफ़, हम कहते हैं पैदा करने में, प्रोडक्शन में, ज़मीन से, खेतों से, इससे, उससे, बात ठीक है। लेकिन फिर इसके पीछे और कितनी बातें हैं, परिश्रम करने के लिए। और, और काम करने के लिए हमें स्कूल बनाना, ये बनाना, वो बनाना, हज़ार बातें करनी, नहरें बनानी, वो सब इस काम का एक हिस्सा हो गया। तो यह जो गाँठ हमें खोलनी है परिश्रम से और आशाओं से और उसी के साथ हमें याद रखना है कि इसके खोलने की रफ़्तार तेज़ी से करनी है। हल्के करने में और गाँठें बनती जाती हैं उसके ऊपर। चाहे हमारे आज़ादी के बढ़ने की चाहे और चाहे हमारे ख़तरे हों और देशों से।

तो फिर हम एक ऐसी जगह पहुँचे हैं जबकि कोई हमारे पास कोई ये बहुत मौका नहीं है चुनने का, हम किस रास्ते पर चलें? हम एक रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं पिछले बरसों से। उस रास्ते से पीछे भी नहीं हट सकते (पीछे हटना, रास्ता भी कहना ठीक नहीं है। लेकिन ख़ैर पीछे हटना, तो हम कहीं पहुँचे ही नहीं हैं वहीं के वहीं रह जाते हैं और ख़राब हो जाते हैं) आगे हम बढ़ते हैं तो आगे तो हमें बढ़ना है। लेकिन आगे भी बढ़ना है तेज़ी से, नहीं तो आबादी का बढ़ना-और, और बातें हमें दबा देती हैं। तो सब नतीज़े ये होता है कि हमें तेज़ी से काम करना है। और परिश्रम करना है। और इतना काफी परिश्रम करना है कि हम- जैसे कि डेबर भाई ने कहा आबादी को खिला सकें; नई आबादी को और कुछ और परिश्रम करें। जिससे आजकल जो हमारे यहाँ कठिनाई है उसको हम लोगों की कठिनाई दूर करें। और तीसरे आइन्दा बढ़ने के लिए कुछ पैसा हमारे पास बचे। तीन बातें हैं तब हम बढ़ते हैं। ये सवाल आ गये।

अब क्या-क्या काम करें? ये योजना बनाने का काम है। प्लानिंग कमीशन, इत्यादि करते हैं। योजना बनाते हैं कि किस काम से अधिक लाभ होगा। क्योंकि जब हमें जल्दी काम करना है तब यह नहीं होता कि जो चाहें हम करें, हम जो चाहें करें, वो अच्छी बात भी हो, जो हम करें। लेकिन उसका असर अगर नहीं होगा, हमारे योजना के बढ़ने पर तो उस समय वह एक फिज़ूल काम हो जाता है। अब फर्ज़ करो एक बड़ा महल बनाया जाये, तो मुझे कोई महल बनाने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, सुन्दर मकान बनता है। हम देखें, लेकिन हो सकता है कि जितने लाखों रुपये महल में खर्च हों, तो वो ऐसे काम में हों जिसमें ज़्यादा देश बढ़ सके। इसलिए वो काम अच्छा हो जाता है।

बीच में मैं एक बात आपसे कह दूँ, माफ़ करेंगे आप लोग कि, बेंगलोर से सुन्दर शहर बहुत कम हैं हमारे देश में और कहीं भी, और शानदार है, बढ़ रहा है लेकिन मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ कि यहाँ की हरिजन बस्तियों को देखकर कि ऐसे शहर, शानदार शहर में ऐसी बस्तियाँ

हों और ऐसे बेचारे मुसीबत में रहें वो लोग, तो यह तो कुछ उचित नहीं मालूम हुआ मुझे। और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वो बेंगलोर की कॉर्पोरेशन इधर ज़रा थोड़ा बहुत ध्यान अपना देगी (तालियाँ)। तो अब मैं समझता हूँ अगर आप कहें तो मैं कुछ अंग्रेजी भाषा में कहूँ क्योंकि यहाँ कई भाषाओं के लोग बैठे हैं और मैं कन्नड, तमिल और तेलुगू में कुछ कह नहीं सकता, यह आपने सुन लिया। मैं तो कुछ हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी में कुछ कह सकता हूँ।

[Translation begins:

Mr Chairman, Comrades,

You have just heard a speech on this resolution⁴⁴ in which I was mentioned a great deal. It was pointed out that though I have many good qualities, one weakness in my working is that I have not made the Congress organisation strong.⁴⁵ He talked about other matters of principle which were noteworthy. It is true that this is a very grave defect, not only in me but in all of us. It is the joint responsibility of all of us to build a strong institution capable of quick progress. But I am in a dilemma because the Congress President has asked me to say something about the Congress and the resolution. The problem is a grave one and we consider it every year. Perhaps it is also true that the defects which we find in the Congress are generally those which afflict the people of India. The Congress reflects those defects. But it is also true that we must strive constantly to change and improve the organisation and give it a new garb so that it can stay in step with the times. It is not necessary that something which is relevant in a particular milieu should remain so for all time. This is something we have to think about.

We have received some resolutions on this subject in the AICC and a small committee went into them. But most of them would have very far-reaching consequences. So, it was not possible to present them at a general session of the Congress. Therefore, it is felt that there should be a special session to go into these questions specifically. These are grave problems. Before independence the Congress was not merely a party but a great movement in itself. Now it has acquired the complexion of a political party. It is the largest single party in the Lok Sabha. I agree that we are spread out all over the country. But it reflects the character of a party which is more limited.

There are two aspects of the Congress. One is that of a movement and the other is that of a party. Even if the work is the same, it is of two kinds. Sometimes there is an argument as to which aspect we should lay stress on. It is difficult for us to give up either of them because if the Congress is content to be merely

44. See fn 42 in this section.

45. See fn 43 in this section.

a political party, the image which it had during the last sixty to seventy years changes. On the other hand, it is equally difficult that it should remain at the level of a movement because we have to work as a party too. This is a fundamental dilemma that we face today and there does not seem to be any easy solution to it. We are making an effort to induce a gradual change in the character of the Congress. But we must continue to think about it. What I have said just now has nothing to do with any resolution in particular, not in quite the same way as our previous speaker made out.

Well, I shall come to the resolution now. Many of you have been members of the All India Congress Committee where you have heard speeches on the resolution. Others might have read about them in newspapers. I do not know what impact it had on you. I am sure there must be very few people who would not agree with what has been said. But that is not enough. It needs a certain atmosphere, a particular kind of thinking and inclination in the country to achieve them. Therefore, the resolution states that the temper of the Congress, the people and the administration must be changed. The word temper is not quite correct perhaps. Anyhow, what we must understand is that we have reached a point in India where difficulties and hope go hand in hand. It depends on which way you look at it. Some people are scared away by the difficulties. Somehow the attitude is one of dependence on others. If there is an external threat, we want to delegate the task of defending our country to an outside power. If there are economic problems, we think in terms of more aid from others. We can get aid no doubt. But the moment our attitude becomes one of dependence on others, we will lose control over our own destiny. There can be no progress.

Ultimately, what is our goal as far as India is concerned? It is neither merely the setting up of heavy industries nor the implementation of the Five Year Plans. Our ultimate goal is to produce human beings of quality, strong men and women capable of carrying a heavy burden [Applause], of facing and overcoming dangers and threats. If we succeed in doing this, other things will follow automatically, whether we have peace or war or it is a question of planning. If we fail to produce human beings of quality and place our dependence on others, all our success will be superficial and hollow. Therefore, we must not depend on others. Among the many things that Mahatma Gandhi taught us the most fundamental one was self-reliance. Other countries have struggled for freedom in ways which were different from ours. Most of them used to do great publicity in other countries and seek their help. But as you know, Mahatma Gandhi was not very much in favour of wasting our energy in seeking help from other countries. We wanted and received their sympathy and goodwill. But that came as a result of what we were doing here. Anyhow, Gandhiji believed in total self-reliance, because he knew that the most important step in changing a nation

was to change its people, to infuse new strength and courage into them.

Twelve years have gone by since India became independent and we have embarked on new tasks. But we must never lose sight of the fundamental lesson taught by Gandhiji.

I would like to point out one thing more. One of the points made in the resolution is how we should utilise manpower resources which are being wasted just now. For one thing, we want to organise the people all over the country, on land, in industries and other occupations that every able-bodied man and woman gets some work. Unemployment is bad for the individual as well as the country. But there is no magic formula for this. It can be achieved only through greater productivity which means that we have to modernise. Otherwise there can be no progress.

How have other countries managed to get rid of unemployment. They have done so by using new techniques of production and new sources of energy. We too must do the same and use modern techniques in agriculture and industries. It takes time. It will be misleading to say that it can be done quickly. Our plans are directed towards that end. Anyhow, the problem is that in the interval, during the ten or fifteen years that elapses before we modernise, we are not able to utilise fully our manpower. Everyone consumes something, even the poorest of them which means that he uses up a part of the national wealth. Unless everyone repays in some way or the other, the national wealth will not increase. You cannot blame the poor for they do not get the right opportunity. It is a defect in our economic organisation.

The fact remains that there is a great deal of unemployment in India out of choice or because of lack of opportunity. We are trying to ensure that people get more opportunities for earning a livelihood. Millions of people have been given jobs in the last few years. But the population keeps increasing very fast too. So, there are large numbers of people in the country who are unemployed or underemployed. How best to utilise their skills? We have to find new avenues and outlets for employment in small scale industries, etc., so that every individual can do something productive.

I would like to remind you that when we talk about manpower resources, Gandhiji had just that in mind when he insisted on everyone spinning the charkha. I will not go into whether it is useful or not. But Gandhiji wanted to ensure that everyone did something productive. I agree that the minimum wage for labour is one or two rupees per day whereas an individual may earn only about six annas from the charkha. So the economic pundits argue that the idea is not workable. What they fail to take note of is that an individual who earns nothing today can produce six annas worth of goods which will augment the national wealth. If millions of human beings add their bit, it amounts to a very

large sum. I am not referring only to the charkha though it is a good thing. People can take up any useful, productive task like building roads or providing some amenities in the villages, which benefits everyone.

As I said earlier, we are face to face both with knotty problems and burdens and of hope and optimism. These two go hand in hand. You cannot separate them. We will not have the courage to carry heavy burdens without hope. But to realise our hopes, it is also necessary to work hard. You can almost count it as a law of nature that you can get only as much as you strive for. There is no doubt about that. A nation and its people can go only so far as the measure of work they put in. There may be stray cases of people making easy money. That is mostly due to exploitation of others. But it cannot work as a general rule. Gradually, a time is bound to come when it is only those who earn that will be able to consume. Those who do not make the effort will starve. When I say earn I mean social service, A teacher does great social service, so does a doctor. Nature does not forgive the indolent. Nobody can hope to get something for nothing. So we must work hard in every field and produce more from our land and industries. Other things need to be done like building schools and canals, etc. The path before us is one of hard work and hope. We must move fast because a slow rate of progress makes the problems knottier still. Already the problems of overpopulation and external threat are overwhelming.

We have reached a stage where there is not much scope for choices. We cannot give up the path which we have been following during the last few years. We have to keep going on, and quickly. Otherwise the pressure of increasing population and other circumstances will crush us. So it follows that we have to work very hard to get quick results. As Dhebar Bhai said just now, we have to work hard enough to feed the new population, to alleviate the afflictions of the masses, and thirdly, in order to have a surplus for development. Planning is the answer to all these problems. The Planning Commission tries to find out the best use of our resources. We cannot allow a policy of *laissez-faire* because even if good work is done, it cannot have an impact. For instance, we cannot afford to build palaces and waste precious resources which must be used for the maximum benefit of the country.

You will forgive me if I point out that though Bangalore is a beautiful city, the state of the Harijan slums is painful to behold. It does not seem proper that people should live in such dire poverty in the middle of a beautiful city like Bangalore. I hope the Corporation will pay attention to this [applause]. With your permission I shall speak in English now for the benefit of non-Hindi speaking people. I cannot speak Tamil, Telugu or Kannada.

Translation ends.]

So I shall say a few words in English.

Mr President and fellow delegates and comrades,

In this resolution there occurs a phrase to which reference has already been made by Dhebarbhai⁴⁶ and myself that we have to change the temper of the administration and the people. That is almost a key phrase in this resolution. In fact, the whole resolution is a key resolution in the sense that it wants to direct the attention of the people and more specially of Congressmen as also the Governments to things to be done: not philosophies to be argued, not ideologies to be considered and all that. We had enough of that. Certainly in our leisure moments we can philosophise; but the time has come to act and not to philosophise too much. If we have to act we have to direct our resources to particular directions; those directions have already been given. We may gradually change them now and then. But the main directions have been given not only in our five year plans, not only in our Congress resolutions repeatedly, but more specifically in recent Congress resolutions, the last resolution the Nagpur one, and that very careful consideration was given to it by the sub-committee of the All-India Planning Committee and seminar and all that. Those broad directions have been given and no doubt they will continue to be considered. They should be considered because we live in a changing world and the moment we become rigid in any dogma, we fail to move with that changing world. So, the broad directions have been given and those broad directions, if I may say so, are on lines not only with our thinking but generally speaking with the thinking of intelligent men in other countries and in the rest of the world. Because in this particular matter of the underdeveloped country going towards fuller development, going towards what is called self-generating, self-feeding economy, the path to be followed may slightly vary here and there, but broadly is the same. It does not matter what ideology you pursue; you have to work hard to produce more. You have to make the land more productive, you have to make industry more widespread and more productive; you cannot have anything to give to the people, you cannot establish socialism without wherewithal to establish it; you must have something.

Socialism is not a doctrine of poverty. Let us all be poor, we are all socialists; that is not socialism. Socialism lets us all have a measure of equality and higher levels of living. The word "socialism" came into existence when there was a possibility of greater wealth production owing to scientific and technological methods. Otherwise, socialism was an idle dream. Therefore, there is a unanimity of thinking in spite of some, I regret to say, vaguer people, who call themselves

46. U.N. Dhebar, President of the Indian National Congress, 1957-59.

members of Swatantra Party or what not, who have been unable somehow to extricate themselves from some dim and past age. They are totally unable to understand what is happening roundabout them today in the world and they go on repeating like some ancient *mantram* imagining by that that they are going to advance the cause of the country. That, of course, is a rather exceptional thing, but broadly speaking, the world recognises, apart from ideologies, even that the way of growth of a nation from underdevelopment to development is a certain way of developing your men, your agriculture, or industry and various other things, which fit in and there is no other way except this.

Opinions may vary about minor ways of doing it. That is the major thing. That can only be done by the way other countries have done it, we need not follow the other countries in everything but broadly speaking, it can only be done by modern methods of production; modern methods of production in land, in industry; modern methods of production means tools, implements which help you to produce more. Obviously, if you look at the history of the human race, there are many ways of looking at it, but one way is the improvement of tools from age to age.

Man was once defined by a great American, Benjamin Franklin, as a tool making animal. The difference between man and the animal is that he makes tools and the animal does not. The animal has always to rely on its hands and feet; a man makes the tool, the man of the Stone Age. If you go to a museum and see, the first thing he made was a big stone axe—a very bad tool, that stone axe, just possibly to hit gently somebody he doesn't like or to kill animals to eat with. Even a simple thing like throwing a stone at an animal to kill him was man's invention; a monkey also does it to some extent but not successfully [Laughter]. So man is a tool making animal, and man has advanced as his tools have advanced, because the tool gives additional power to man. Sorry, whatever the tools may be, axe or a hammer or anything, he can do more with it. But his hands are not good enough to do all those things. Tools get better and better: there are the Stone Age tools; there are the tools of much later; iron tools get better and better; now as your tools get better your work becomes more and more. With a tool you can do more work than a man without a tool. That is obvious. Then comes another stage when the tool becomes a tool with greater power, steam power, electric power, call it what you like. That means you can do much more work so that a man does not use only his hands but a tool which does the work of a thousand hands. Naturally, he can do more work and progress more.

You read in our ancient epics and ancient literature our heroes having a thousand arms, etc. Well, you today can have a thousand or ten thousand arms with the help of a tool, and now therefore if you are to advance, you have to use

these tools which man has evolved in order to have a greater strength to achieve success. That means modernising our agriculture and industry. That means coming in to what is called the industrial age. That is the main thing. And again today whatever ideology you may have, whether capitalist or communist or socialism, the common factor in all those ideologies is our catching up to the modern age and going ahead with it, not copying others, making it our own and going ahead scientifically and technologically, etc. That is the basis. Of course, keeping our own basis intact. How are we to do that? That is the question. But the main thing must be understood. We have to come out of an age of backward industrial techniques and tools into the modern age with new tools, new powers including atomic energy, and all that and the sooner we do it, the sooner we progress. If we do not do that, we lag behind and other countries go ahead and conditions become more difficult.

Now, there is another odd factor to be borne in mind by you, by all of us that the more we advance the easier it becomes to take the next step; just like if you are very, very poor, it is very difficult to get out of poverty, very difficult; there is nothing, not even physical strength, to get out of it, no mental strength, no resources, nothing to fall back upon. If you are a little better, if you can make advance a little better, if you are fairly well off, you can become richer much more easily; you have the resources. So also a nation, a very poor nation stuck in the mud of poverty, just cannot get out; it cannot advance. Now you see here we are in India and there are other countries in Asia and Africa, underdeveloped countries trying to go ahead. I do not wish to name any countries. But you can compare the rate of advance of these countries; you can also see the rate of advance or let us say European countries, American countries which are developed countries. Now America, England, Russia; I am mentioning these names, specially the Communist countries and capitalist countries. But both of them are developed countries, according to tools and science and technology and machines. They are advancing at a much faster rate than we are because they can afford to advance and they can produce so much. We work very hard, and advance a yard while they advance ten yards, same work or less work, because they have got the tools; we have not. If you compare our advance with other countries of Asia and Africa, our advance is much faster than theirs because we have got some tools; we have got some machines, and above all, we have got some trained men. [...] Our advance, as Morarji Bhai said in the last ten or twelve years, compared to others placed in more or less our position, has been very creditable. There is nothing to be ashamed of it. It has been good. But if we compare it with the advance made by America or Russia in this period, theirs is much faster because they have got resources to go ahead. So that the more we advance, the faster becomes our rate of advance. That is important.

Therefore, it becomes very important that we should advance, make every effort to advance more to reach a stage when our rate of change becomes fast. If we advance slowly we do not reach that stage of a self-generating economy and we are always pursued by the troubles of an underdeveloped economy.

We are, if you like to put it, to give you another example, we try to cross a river by boldly swimming across it from underdevelopment to development on the other side. Now, we are in the middle of it. We have made very good progress, we are in the middle of it. Now, somebody tells me, "Well, we have come so far, half-way across; let us rest a little." You cannot rest in the middle of a river. You can't. If you want to rest, you go down and you will be drowned and when you arrive at the middle of the river with a big current it is harder to swim towards the side of a river. When you get away from the big current it becomes easier and ultimately you cross the river. So, we have arrived at a peculiarly difficult period and the difficulty of our period is because we have advanced so much.

The difficulty of the problem of unemployment is because we have produced a large number of people out of our schools and colleges. That is why, after all, ten, twenty years ago, there was far less employment in the country than now. Far far less, a hundred times less, of the educated people. There was no opening about thirty or forty years ago for the Indian people; all the high officers were English; all the high officers, army, navy, air force, business, everything English mostly. Today everything is Indian almost, whether military, civil, science, diplomatic service—there are thousands and thousands of appointments and jobs open to Indians and they occupy them. I do not know today. I do not know, fifteen or twenty thousand scientists working, good scientists working in our national laboratories so that employment is growing vastly, and yet we talk of unemployment. Why, because education has grown vastly which is a good thing. We may criticise education here and there but after all it is a good thing so that the very problems we face today are problems of growth.

Remember that, our problems of rapid growth. The more rapidly we grow the more difficult becomes the problem for the time being till we catch up in some other way. So, if you look at it from this point of view, you have a much brighter picture, that we are suffering from the trials of growth of a nation and world economy. We have made good progress and that very good progress has made new problems for us and we have to overcome them somehow or other and the moment you overcome these problems, we arrive more or less on the other side of the river. That does not mean that our problems are over; but they are of a different type. Then we become what is called a developed country, a country with a mature technological base, if I may use those words. We produce our machines, we produce the things we require! We go ahead. Now, therefore,

this is the time when we have to do it and do it fully and therefore no more as far as possible of ideological-philosophical discussions. We know what we have to do on the land; we know more or less what we have to do in industry; let us go ahead with it. Take land. After all, so far as industry is concerned, every person cannot start a big factory, although many people can start small industries. Cottage industries, of course anybody can start; but small industry many can start and I can tell you that there has been in some parts of the country, certainly in the Punjab, a little bit in the Northern UP, and I believe in South India too, in certain parts to some extent in Bengal, an amazing number of small industries, starting—which is very good—starting of their own effort. Sometimes, the State helps here and there which is very good. But the big industries naturally cannot be started by every individual; they require much greater effort and I think on the whole they will look after themselves, either the State or those who can start it. But so far as agriculture is concerned and that is most important, almost every Congressman ought to do something, ought to be able to help. Certainly every Congressman coming from the rural areas, he can help, he must help, he must undertake some particular responsibility. So, this is the picture before you.

Now apart from everything else, another point arises. That is the danger on our frontiers which is a great test for us; and whatever the military steps taken for our defence may be, that is a separate matter. But every man should know that today the strength of a nation depends upon the economic position and the industrial growth of that nation. Therefore, from that point of view also, it becomes urgent that our economy should grow. Many other things we have to do for we have it to make growth. But our economy should grow and produce the things we need even for defence. Fortunately, both, whether you look at it from defence or look at it from raising our standards of living more or less, the same thing has to be done, not entirely, some time they diverge but broadly speaking both point to attempt at rapid growth of our industrial apparatus and to our agricultural production. Both make that. Therefore, we should concentrate on that.

And this resolution is to draw the attention of the country to this vital and urgent matter. Of course, I do not refer much because other Speakers have referred to the necessity of our administration functioning with greater speed in regard to these matters—functioning in effect, I do not want to use the word; because you know when there is real urgency as in a war then the administration has to function with speed otherwise it would go down. The country goes down. A general has to make quick decisions, and act up to them; has to be supplied with the wherewithal to feed his army whatever it is. You cannot sit down and take six months for every decision. The war will be over and you will be defeated.

So, in war time swift decisions count, right or wrong. Now, I hope we are not in the middle of a war; I hope we will not be. But the fact is something of the urgency of that situation should come into our minds and we should devote ourselves administratively to rapid decisions and rapid implementation and the people generally should accept this fact. That is the purpose of this resolution.

We talk about it and we argue about it and no doubt you will pass this resolution. But what is important is that you should imbibe the temper of this resolution and carry it with you when you go and that the country should imbibe the temper of this and the administration should imbibe it so that we can really give effect to what we have decided and what we aim at [Applause].

You Said It

By LAXMAN



...and those in favour kindly raise your hand.
Thanks, gentlemen for the unanimous agreement...
(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 17 FEBRUARY 1960)

19. To the Subjects Committee: India's Frontiers⁴⁷

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister): Mr President and fellow delegates, I have come to speak on this resolution⁴⁸ chiefly to endeavour to clear up one or two matters. It is an important resolution—important in the sense that it deals with three vital matters of concern to our present and future.

Now, it is natural that in a matter of this kind, there should be considerable feeling among the delegates and indeed among the public at large and that feeling should be expressed here in emphatic terms. As I stated previously on another occasion, it would have been a pity and most unfortunate if even such a situation did not rouse the mind and thinking of India. That is so. Nevertheless, although it does not come within the ambit of this resolution, nevertheless, we have to consider in this Committee and in the Congress, what the situation is, and how best we should face it. We cannot go into details here naturally. But it does seem a little odd to me that some of our colleagues and delegates should merely deal with the situation like this in terms of excited resentment and not so much in terms of what we should do or not do. It is natural and I do not object to it. But I should like this House to realise what I am asked to realise. One of the delegates asked—not me, but the Government of India—to realise the gravity of the situation. That is very good of him and it is right. But I can assure you our feelings and of the Government. We realise the gravity of the situation adequately and perhaps even more than those who tell us to realise. How is that grave situation met? That is the problem, not the realisation of it.

Certain suggestions are made which seems to me lack even commonsense—leave out any scientific approach. It is just an exhibition of excited anger. That does not help very much. There are two or three things in this. The first, I think in some amendment moved perhaps by Shri Hanumanthaiya,⁴⁹ there has been a talk about some kind of Co-operative Defence. It is a kind of phrase which reminded me of another phrase which I dislike. In the Community Development they have evolved a phrase—Balwantrai Mehta⁵⁰ has suggested—Democratic Decentralisation. How any progress can be made of it, I do not understand. I am all in favour of it, but that name will kill anything. It should be a simpler name. I hope Balwantrai Mehta will forgive me, because I am completely in

47. Speech during the debate on the resolution on India's Frontiers, Sadashivnagar, Bangalore, 16 January 1960. AICC Papers, NMML.

48. See item 12.

49. K. Hanumanthaiya, the Chief Minister of Mysore, 1952-56.

50. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gohilwad, Bombay State and President of the All India Panchayat Parishad.

favour of the argument and I only object to the name and nothing else. [Applause] So this kind of Co-operative Defence reminded me of this roundabout way of saying certain simple things which we either like or dislike. It means ultimately an old idea of some people believing to be what they call a Third Force. Because, it neither belongs to one particular major military bloc nor the other. Therefore, we believe in a Third Force. Well, I will not go into the arguments of it.

K. Hanumanthaiya: It was never my idea to advocate a Third Force. I never borrow ideas of others.

A Voice: It is original.

K. Hanumanthaiya: I never developed the idea of Third Force.

(The Prime Minister – cont[inue]d)

(Hanumanthaiya interrupted)

So, I am sure that it is not Mr Hanumanthaiya's conscious idea, but it leads to that. But I am not entering into that question, but I am sure that Hanumanthaiya knows that today himself. It is neither feasible nor in the sense he has put it, is it desirable. To talk about other countries is always rather a ticklish matter. Instead of pleasing them you irritate them—as if you can deal with the problems of other countries in the AICC or anywhere. In this Congress, to mention the name of any other country, with all the goodwill in the world, and then say that we will do this and not do that, is a patronising way of dealing with countries. They would not like it. We should appreciate that. It is entirely another thing to have neighbourly relations and understand each other. We are engaged in developing relations with each other. That is all very well. There may be no intention of our functioning—if I may use the word—like a big brother to others. We hope to cooperate with other countries because we agree largely, but the other countries have a full right to go its own way.

In this connection, let us come to some of our nearest and closest neighbours. There is Nepal and Bhutan. There is of course Sikkim also. Now, the first thing to realise is that these countries cannot be lumped together. They are entirely separate from each other in various ways and in their relationships to us. Sikkim is intimately our responsibility in many ways. We are trying to help, to develop it and all other—a number of our officers serving there and all that. Bhutan is a country fully independent, but with certain engagements, understandings, with us, with regard to its foreign policy. We have nothing to do in regard to its internal policies. It is entirely, as I said, free to do what it chooses and we do not wish to, and by our own understandings, we cannot interfere in any way

except, of course, cooperatively. When they desire some help, we give some help, we may make for them any road, as we are doing we may give them help for industrial development. But that is a matter of agreement between the two countries, but in so far as foreign affairs are concerned, many years ago, there was an understanding, there was a treaty etc.,⁵¹ which said that their foreign affairs would be in consultation with us. Foreign affairs include defence. You cannot separate the two. Therefore, Bhutan is internally completely independent and we have no desire to interfere in the least with that independence; but according to our agreements, in regard to foreign affairs, which includes defence, we have to be consulted, which is a polite way of saying that we come into the picture there. So far as Nepal is concerned, Nepal is exactly like any independent nation in the world in Asia or Europe or anywhere else. The fact that Nepal was closely associated with India is due to geography and culture, not political or other matters. It is, we are culturally, we are closer to each other; we are geographically close to each other. Historically close together. Therefore, it leads us to think alike; it is natural and right. Let this not lead anyone to think that, again to use the word, that we presume to be Big Brothers of anybody, to advise anybody as to what its policy should be. It is entirely for the Government of Nepal to determine its policies. Again there is this there to which I had my attention drawn to the speech in Parliament. That by agreement, by an exchange of letters, ten years ago, I forget when the last treaty with Nepal was framed, we have agreed to keep each other informed about defence matters and defence developments, so that we might co-operate with each other, when any such development took place, of danger to either country. That was not an alliance in that sense, of course not. But it was an understanding arrived at 10-11 years ago,⁵² which some people appear to have forgotten. So I stated in the course of a speech in Parliament that that is the position and I think that is a satisfactory position and it would not be right for us to push ourselves anywhere by advice or in any other way because that, instead of creating that right atmosphere for cooperation, actually comes in its way. That is the main thing I wish to say.

Now, just one or two more words. Many people have praised our army and defence services. Rightly, I think because it is a good Army, good Air Force and a good navy. The principal defence arm of course is the Army and the Air Force has always now to play a very important part. But if I may say so with all respect, many delegates in their speeches do not realise or pay adequate attention to the fact that the art and science of fighting is a rapidly changing one—it is changing rapidly and all the courage in the world cannot face changing weapons.

51. Treaty of "perpetual peace and friendship" signed in Darjeeling on 8 August 1949.

52. On 31 July 1950. See SWJN/SS/16, pt.1/p. 485.

The history of India can well be written showing how the various invasions of India took place, not because of lack of courage in India, but because of the better weapons on the other side. Babur came into India because he had the cannon; there is no lack of courage among the Rajputs, but according to me, the Rajputs did not have the cannon. The cannon made all the difference. The British and the French came here; they had better weapons, of course. There is no doubt about it, apart from other factors. So today people talk of war being outmoded and outdated because weapons have become so big, so terrible, that all conceptions of past warfare are really of little use. Our generals, who naturally learn about warfare from the last war or the previous wars, may be completely out of touch with new developments that take place in any possible next war.

War becomes today less and less a matter of flashing uniforms and more and more of technicians and scientists. The whole picture is changing. You read today some statement that the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union⁵³ has made about some tremendous weapon which they have and they have developed. Well, whatever they may develop, the United States and the Soviet Union have already developed enough to destroy all of us everywhere. There is no doubt. This is one of the admitted facts. And the danger is grave and the great danger is that if these weapons are brought to a number of countries, then it will become uncontrollable. Today perhaps they might be controlled. Now, that is the main fact of war which people talk about rather lightly and in terms of courage and bravery. Courage and bravery are of course essential features of any basis on which a nation can be built and out of which danger can be met. That is obviously essential. But one must have a conception of what all these talks lead to. I say that if India's honour is attacked, and if India's integrity is attacked and all that, it does not matter what the consequences are, India has to resist. India has to resist because a nation which loses its own self-respect and its honour becomes less and less worthwhile; even in its own mind, it is not worthwhile, leaving out world opinion. That is so. At the same time, when you talk about China and India, I do suggest that we might understand what it all means—this question of war, and our talking about, shall I use the word humiliating or humbling, China, or China doing that to India. Both are big countries in size, both whatever their relative armed strength might be are fairly strong countries, both are proud countries. Now a conflict between proud countries, courageous countries and fairly well-equipped countries—one may be a little more than the other—is not something which is a light affair. It is obvious. It is not something which can remain confined to a small area. It may spread to the world. It may involve us for a few months, but for years and for a generation. Let us think of that clearly

53. Nikita Khrushchev.

and then make brave speeches about doing this or that. In an age, as I said, what counts is science and scientific development, not only the general development, but specifically in terms of warfare. All these problems arise.

I ventured to say in connection with another resolution the other day about the real basis—that resolution about economy⁵⁴—the problem before India was to jump from backward economy and backward economical age to the modern age of science and technology, keeping of course certain basic trends and basic principles that we hold intact. That is apart. It is this problem of coming to the modern age not only in the weapons we use, not only in the power we use, but in the minds we apply today. We do not come to the modern age if you buy a big machine from Germany or America or Russia, put it up here in charge of some technician. That is not the modern age. The man who owns that machine probably belongs to some antediluvian age. But he probably does not know how to make profit out of it. That is all. The man who goes in a car, who owns a car, knows nothing about that car, about that automobile. He belongs to an old age and not to the modern age, although he profits by sitting in the car and going about. So we have to develop mentally to the modern age. This committee should develop mentally in the modern age and not talk the language of the middle age. That is an important fact to remember. I say so with all respect.

Now to come to another small matter, one of the honourable delegates told us that we must fully utilise the capacity of our ordnance factories and he seemed to think that because our ordnance factories were making trucks, this is coming in the way of manufacturing warlike implements. It is very helpful to be given useful advice. It would be still more helpful if it had some basis and knowledge. Otherwise, it is rather empty air without much significance. It is a statement well worth to remember that our ordnance factories should be worked, and utilised fully. It has been our misfortune that they were not utilised fully in the past and I will tell you why. Because of the strange thing we have inherited from past times, British times, the ordnance factories strictly dealt with ordnance and nothing else, and indeed in the old days, not even the things the British Government wanted to supply to us, only certain things which had not come in the way of British supplies to us and did not which was supposed to be reserved for the private sector. It was in the first world war, when the difficulties of supplies coming from England, that our ordnance factories were developed slightly, a little more. It was in the Second World War, under compulsion of war, they were developed more, because they could not get things from England. But the whole policy underlying the development of our war apparatus in those days was not to develop here, but rather to buy from England. In war time, they

54. See item 14.

were forced to do it, and ultimately during the Second War. Still there were all kinds of limitations and obstructions to meet development. Even after war days, although progress was undoubtedly made, in the early years of independence, there was this idea of pursuing at the back of mind, not deliberately, but rather unconsciously that the work of the ordnance factories should not interfere with what was supposed to be the private domain and all that, with the result that a great deal of equipment and even the ability in the ordnance factories was not fully utilised. If you want to have certain types of amenities, you make [sure] all our stores are full. But we just can't go on making unless we sell it to others, because we are not making use of it at a fast pace. So equipment and ability do not fit quite enough today. Now in very recent years, an attempt has been made with success to change that and the basic thing about the change is—it is challenging this doctrine that ordnance factories cannot and should not make anything which private industry could make. We talk about army. Immediately the result was remarkable and is remarkable. The fact of trucks was mentioned in particular. It was very remarkable. Immediately, we got faster trucks, we got cheaper trucks and we got better trucks. It was astonishing. Trucks, if I may remind this house, are things of at least as much importance to an army as any weapon. Trucks are used everywhere except in the mountains. The army moves in trucks. It does not walk nowadays. In the mountains it may have to walk, it may have to climb. So this is a very essential feature of an army. We cannot get them in time in sufficient number and even if we get them we have to pay through our nose. It was something which really came in our way. But now, to our satisfaction, we got over that difficulty, because the army makes its own trucks in ordnance factories.

And people go on criticising us that this is a sort of invasion of private rights. What is the mentality, of what century, that is put forward before us. Are there any private rights when the nation's economy is concerned and which come in the way of the nation's progress? I reject that doctrine completely, hundred per cent. I think there is enormous field for private enterprise in India and we acknowledge that and we should encourage private enterprise. But if private enterprise were to challenge the very basis of the national idea, that a nation's defence or a nation's broad economy should be governed by private interests—it is something which put private enterprise completely in the wrong. I want to encourage private enterprise, because, I think it is desirable in furthering the nation's growth and production. But if private enterprise thinks that it is greater than the nation, then, it is not going to be encouraged. Let it be understood. So far as defence ordnance factories and other factories are concerned, they have everything from any point of view to manufacture anything they can, private or public, or whatever you like to call it. It is a matter first of

all of the needs of the defence service. I do not mean that privately the needs of the defence services should not be met. Not at all. If the army or the navy or the air forces makes something for themselves, which it needs, it will make. Somebody may lose the profit thereby. It has to be self-dependent. Apart from other reasons, it has to rely on itself. That should be clearly understood. The private sector may make the same things. The same things may be made by both the public and private sectors, so that there may be healthy competition, so that we can see which does better and learn from each other.

Now therefore, a criticism about our ordnance factories, which would have been valid two or three years ago or more is not valid today. They are being utilised fully or almost fully — and we cannot use them fully sometimes because of the lack of equipment or other things which has to be obtained from elsewhere. You get ten percent from elsewhere and make 100 per cent utilisation. That is a different matter. When you talk about equipment, army and all that, as I said the army functions—it was stated long ago—or the army marches, on its stomach. That is perfectly correct. More or less the politician and everybody marches on the stomach. Nobody lives without his stomach. But the army today more than ever marches on scientific apparatus. Therefore, there comes in the scientist and the technician who play an exceedingly important part, sometimes much more important than the generals and others. The generals are very important of course. They are vital. They are the people responsible. But it is the weapons you give them that will make them work adequately or not.

One of the biggest developments in the recent years, last two or three years specially, has been the advance made under the very able guidance of our scientists of the defence science department which is vital. Otherwise the average person in India seems to think that our defences should consist while sitting down of sending out orders to America or Germany for so many trucks, so many cannons and so many this. It is easy signing on the dotted line sitting. But that is a sure sign not of an independent nation, but of a nation which is very dependent on others, apart from the economic kind of support and all that. We cannot do so. In order to get out of that tangle, it is of the highest importance to develop our science department. The results are already there. It is a very big department, one of the major departments in India today. Secondly, to manufacture in our ordnance establishments the special needs of the army wherever they can manufacture them. Even for purposes of manufacturing and toning up our economy, not wasting any equipment we have got, it is not necessary. We perfectly realise that and we are going to push this process as rapidly as we can.

I am sorry to have taken so much time. The development on our frontier is concerned—so far as I am concerned and the government is concerned—is of

the highest importance and gravity. It is of the highest importance and gravity; it has to be thought about from every aspect and there is no other way either now or tomorrow or the day after.

It is not a thing which passes quickly. And therefore we have to prepare for it carefully and we cannot and we should not if I may say so with respect use a language of threat to other countries including China. It does not become us. India is a great country; China is a great country. It will be misfortune certainly if China and India come to grips and come to fight each other and it will be a fight which will not end. They will not come to Delhi and we will not go to Peking. You must remember that—huge distances. It is not merely a question of border fighting. We are huge big countries, proud countries, not easily submitting to another's insult. We will not put up or submit to an insult from China nor will China do so; try to remember this also. And when two proud and strong countries come up into conflict with each other, the consequences are likely to be far-reaching. Look at these problems in the wider context of the world today. The world is groping towards some kind of peace, some kind of settlement, some kind of putting an end to nuclear weapons and that. Try to think in terms of the modern world and not in terms of some medieval world and chivalry about which we very often read stories. But it is not a good thing to do. Things happen and we want all the strength we can have in India and in the final analysis as the resolution says, strength comes from economic development, from scientific development; all other strength is very useful and very important, but it is not adequate without their technical and scientific development today. It is a patent factor. Somebody wanted to have that sentence from the resolution removed. One of the delegates, I think, had moved an amendment. What exactly he had in mind I do not know, except to return to Vedic times in terms of warfare. I cannot understand. One other word, with your permission though it is very irrelevant in connection with this resolution. I am referring to the resolution which we passed before on International Affairs. Much was said about various matters about alignment and non-alignment; but very little attention was paid to one paragraph in it. Now we are entering on the sixties of this century. I think it may well be said that these sixties and seventies will be largely dominated in world affairs by developments in Africa; very big changes are coming over Africa, tremendous changes; and therefore these changes produce peaceful transformation on a very big scale or conflicts on a big scale; all forces there are developing sometimes on parallel lines and sometimes on conflicting lines. So, let us remember Africa and let us think of those changes with all the sympathy in the world for these African Nations that are developing into freedom, remembering that part of the world has suffered so much in the past by foreign or colonial domination as Africa has. Therefore,

let us eagerly welcome these changes and follow the course of development of these African nations with every sympathy and effective co-operation. [Applause].

20. To the Subjects Committee: Harvani's Resolution⁵⁵

N. Sanjiva Reddy:⁵⁶ The next resolution is in the name of Ansar Harvani (UP).

Ansar Harvani: Mr. President and fellow delegates, with due humility and malice towards none, I just move the following resolution:

Resolved that an investigating committee be appointed to investigate into the properties and wealth acquired by MLAs, MPs, State and Central Ministers during membership and tenure of their office with a view to remove the apprehension created in the minds of the public.

When I move this resolution, I have nobody in my mind. I do not want to cast any aspersion of any of our fellow members and Ministers. But unfortunately, an atmosphere of suspicion has been created in this country. Unfortunately a campaign of vilification by the Opposition as well as by the Congress Members has been started against the Members of the legislatures, Members of Parliament and against Chief Ministers and many of our Ministers. Unfortunately a great misunderstanding has been created against them. There have been stories of corruption; there have been stories of nepotism; there have been stories of misuse of power; there have been stories of acquiring wealth; there have been stories that with the wealth that has been acquired, votes have been purchased; there have been stories that with the wealth that has been acquired, press has been purchased. Therefore, it is necessary that we should appoint a committee to remove misunderstanding. We are in an infant democracy. We have built up an infant parliamentary democracy leading to traditions. Today what traditions we create, will go on from generation to generation. We must examine from time to time whether there has been integrity; whether there has been honesty. We definitely know that there is integrity and honesty. But that is

55. Speech during the Congress Subjects Committee debate on the non-official resolution moved by Ansar Harvani, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Fatehpur, UP. 16 January 1960. AICC Papers. NMML. Nehru's speech begins on p. 211.

56. The Congress President.

not enough. We must also understand that it is necessary that there must be proof of honesty and proof of integrity.

There are many people about whom we are hearing stories. I am not going to refer to them now. There are certain Chief Ministers about whom stories are there. There are State ministers about whom stories are current in the bazaar, in meetings, in bar associations. There are many stories about members of the State legislature. I am not going to stand in judgement over them. It is for the people. They would judge us in the elections. They have judged us in the last election. But apart from leaving it to the judgement of the people and public opinion, it is necessary for the organisation, the Indian National Congress, which in all its history has stood for unity, justice and purity, that it should make enquiries about these things and take the people into confidence and tell them what allegations are right and what allegations are wrong. Sometimes complaints are made to the Working Committee against various Ministers. I do not say that the Working Committee has not made any enquiries about them. Some enquiries have been made, but let me confess at the very outset that in spite of those enquires, there has not been satisfaction among the people. There have been certain ministers about whom charges have been made by fellow-Congressmen. Enquiries were made about them and some of them and later on they were exonerated. There have been complaints of corruption against Chief Ministers and Central Ministers, but they have been found to be only constructively responsible. That does not satisfy public opinion. There are charges against very high officials associated with the administration, but the AICC is not concerned with them here and therefore this resolution does not cover that.

Sir, 1962 is not far off. In 1962 we Congressmen have got to go before the people for their vote. We should go with a clean history, with a clean slate, with proved honesty and integrity. If anyone is suspected of dishonesty and it is proved that they are not honest and not above suspicion, they should be at once removed. For us to face the electorate, the people, it is necessary that we should not shirk the responsibility of an investigation. In this resolution, I do not propose that a permanent tribunal should be appointed, which should sit from day to day with all sorts of superficial complaints against the various Ministers, Members of the Government and Members of Parliament and Members of the legislature. That may harm the administration and may not be a practical proposition. As has been suggested by retired I.C.S. officers, that such a tribunal should be appointed. This resolution does not envisage that.

Sir, for the last ten, twelve years, there are stories current about the acquiring of wealth by many of us. Some stories may be right and others

may be wrong. I am not standing here in judgement over them. However, it is necessary that Bangalore should give a lead. A Committee at central level, at the State levels, composed of judicially minded people should be appointed. All the complaints should be investigated about the members of the legislature, members of parliament and members of the State Government and members of the Central Government. Once for all a report should be published and it should be shown to the people that these people were right and those people were wrong. If there are any black sheep amongst us they should be removed. If Congressmen make wrong allegations against our colleagues, such Congressmen should be turned out from the Congress. It is a pathetic sight that Congressmen level allegations against their colleagues, attacking their own Ministers, Chief Ministers, in all sorts of places, in the press and in the platform and in private. They tell that people in power and position are dishonest. It is a pathetic sight that our ministers after resignation issue statements about their own colleagues that with their knowledge there have been acts of corruption. It is necessary that in the interest of the administration, the Indian National Congress, and the Indian people that a complete enquiry should be made about cases of corruption, nepotism and steps should be taken to take the people into confidence so that they can see us with their naked eyes and so that the people may have confidence or may lose confidence.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr President,⁵⁷ I do not propose so much to discuss this particular resolution, but, if you will permit me, rather the subject of the resolution. There is a slight difference between the two. Now, it is clear that it should be our endeavour, and the Congress endeavour even more than that of any other party in any country, to take special steps for the integrity and purity of our administration. That is a normal feature, ought to be a feature of every country striving for that. Apart from that normal feature, it should be our special attempt for a variety of reasons, our background, the way we have ourselves laid stress on this kind of thing. That is one aspect of the question.

The other is that in our attempts to do so, not to encourage all kinds of allegations to be flung about, all kinds of charges and counter-charges, all kinds of witch-hunting and the like.

57. Nehru's reply, which begins here, has been transcribed from the AIR tapes at NMML and corrected using the version available in the AICC papers along with the rest of the record. There are some minor differences.

Now, while undoubtedly in a vast country like India, cases occur, have occurred, and may occur, of lack of integrity, of corruption, etc., in the administrative set up, one should deal with them. It is also an undoubted fact that perhaps in India, almost more than elsewhere, the habit of bringing charges and allegations, without adequate foundation and sometimes absolutely no foundation whatever, is prevalent. I speak from some experience in the last few years. I am not denying... I am not raising or trying to raise the administration or the Minister, etc., to any high level, when I say here and there may be [they fail], but what has surprised me is the habit which is often encouraged of making charges on the flimsiest of excuses on bazaar gossip and the like.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



We are from the inquiry body —our investigations show the charges of corruption, nepotism, administrative irregularities, misappropriation, blackmail and underhand dealings against you are absolutely baseless!

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 18 FEBRUARY 1960)

I think it may be truly said that the Congress Working Committee in the past several years has been peculiarly anxious to deal with this matter, to deal with any charge,—I am talking about Ministers and not administration as such—many charges against Ministers. It is true that the way it has dealt with these charges has been somewhat cumbersome and it has taken months and months. It may not have been a perfect way, but it has been anxious to deal with them and it has considered such charges against particular ministers repeatedly and at length. There is no doubt about the wish of the Congress Working Committee to deal with these matters; naturally, to deal with them and do justice as much as possible and not to pursue vague and undefined charges. We have found often we have gone closely into a charge or set of charges giving everybody opportunity to give his own viewpoint or evidence and we have come to a decision which has been published. Repeatedly those same charges are brought again and again; we dealt with them. People's memory is short and they are repeated again and again.

It has astonished me also; how about four or five years or more ago I made a statement and I repeated it that any charge in regard to the whole of India—that was a brave thing for me to say—that if I receive any charge in regard to the administration, I shall take such steps as I can to enquire into it. First of all, I shall see if that charge has any *prima facie* truth in it; because, if it is on the face of it an absurd charge then naturally it cannot be proceeded with. But if there is any *prima facie* ground for suspicion I shall have a closer enquiry made into it. That closer enquiry itself is not a full enquiry. That closer enquiry will show how far it is worthwhile going into it. If that satisfies me, or whoever it may be, then the third step is the fullest enquiry or whatever method it may be; that depends on proceeding in a court of law. Now, I endeavoured to follow that when I received many complaints from all the States, against Ministers or against administrative personnel.

Now, I do not pretend to say that the method I have suggested is the perfect method. I may make a mistake. I have to rely on some other people who get me facts. But anyhow, I have tried to pursue this method and I have found that in a very large majority of cases, the charges that are made fall to the ground when I looked into them. When I ask the very people who make charges to satisfy me giving *prima facie* evidence, even *prima facie* evidence is lacking. The evidence usually is: people say, oh, you can enquire from the people in the bazaar. Well, that is not good enough to me. So, sometimes something has appeared on some basis and I have enquired into it. It has been important, either more or less. But I have enquired and taken some steps and we have warned or taken cases to the courts.

It is really quite surprising how casually and without the least sense of

responsibility charges of corruption, etc., are made. In today's paper I think or yesterday's, I read a certain Member of Parliament from the Punjab who recently left the Congress Party and joined the Swatantra Party saying quite casually that all Ministers have made crores of rupees. Now, really I know something about the Punjab, about the way things are happening inside in the Punjab. But I should say a few words about that just now presently but casually to go about saying that all Ministers have made crores of rupees is on the face of it such a sheer nonsense that it carries no weight. There must be something. As a matter of fact, I am prepared to write to this gentleman or I am going to write to him: "come out with one single case or half a case and I shall have every enquiry made into it" and I am almost positive that he will give me nothing. He will say: "Oh, you know this is happening." But he did not know this when he was a Member of the Congress Party. The moment he goes to Swatantra Party, this wisdom descends upon him. I say that corruption is bad. But this false charge of corruption is equally bad. It is a scandal that our public life should be dealt with in this way.

Take one factor of India; that India today is obviously much more vigilant in detecting corruption, failure, etc. That is a good thing; to function as a democratic society is to be vigilant. There is the Press. There are numerous parties, opposition parties and all that, whose principal and special function is to find out the weaknesses, the failures, the lack of integrity, or anything in the administration or in the government. They are in the opposition parties. I do not deny their functioning and they are keenly looking for it all over the place. The moment they find something, even the suspicion of a wrong, they seize hold of it. I am merely pointing out how the vigilance the public today is. There are our own members, Congress Party members who naturally and rightly, are also vigilant about their own Ministers, about others. So that on all sides you see this tremendous vigilance of the public in Parliament, in Assembly, and all that; our own members, opposition members whose chief business in life is to find fault and oppose and trying to find something, and then the Press, etc., so that the whole atmosphere is charged with people trying to find out what is wrong. I am not objecting to that. I am pointing that out. It is very difficult for the cleverest scoundrel to get away easily. It is not an easy matter, leave out the bona fide of the individuals. I say it is not an easy matter for parties to get away with those things. I do not deny it might be done. It is a very difficult matter for Ministers to get away when so many people are looking with binoculars and field glasses to know all the time their failings. It might happen and possibly it has happened some times. But it is not an easy matter. It is the whole background.

Now, take the case of the Punjab. I am not going deeply into it but somehow it has appeared in the Press, more often in the North India Press certainly than

anywhere. I am not here to condemn or defend but it is a fact that some people, the opponents of the Congress, of course, but some members of the Congress themselves had spent all their time and energy and sometimes even their ability for the last several years in trying to find fault with the present Government in the Punjab or the Chief Minister in the Punjab. That is their main function in this life. They have lost sight of everything else, that India exists, the world exists, that Congress exists. Whether they are right or wrong I am not going into; I am pointing out the background. Not a needle moves in the Punjab without these investigators finding out why it has moved. They are all the time looking and repeatedly they come up before us with complaints. We have gone into them thoroughly and come to some decisions. Once, if you may remember, we issued a long statement which has been published in the Press about all these complaints.⁵⁸ There the matter ended. A little later, the same thing was again repeated or something new was said.

I am not defending or accusing. It is quite extraordinary how this kind of a thing is carried on, this kind of witch-hunt. The newspapers have helped in that no doubt. I am not accusing them. The newspapers have also their own biases and predilections about individuals or groups; but it has really surprised me how this thing persistently, bitterly and in a hostile way is carried on. Do you expect me to give in to this kind of thing [Laughter]. I just put it to you; people seem to imagine that by persistent shouting they make me or our Government to do something. It is not shouting that does it; it is convincing; if you convince me most certainly, we will do it whatever it may be. I hope I am strong enough to deal with any problem, however it may personally hit you or anybody; but I should counsel you quite frankly that I react very strongly against the kind of tactics which are pursued often in attacking people. I do not like that. All my upbringing of the last fifty or sixty years stand up against that. It is not decent; it is not civilised; it is not proper; let the charge be brought against any and everybody but not this kind of continuous underground, over-ground, middle-ground propaganda of every type and when enquired into, it falls to the ground.

So, I am telling you the difficulty we have to face. The average newspaper reader may well wonder, "See what is happening; are not the Government to do anything about it? Why are they not going to take any action?" I do not blame him. This is the kind of thing which strikes the headlines. When a person comes to see me, and I listen to him; whatever I have to say I may say. Next day it comes in the newspaper, "So and so went and told the Prime Minister that the country is going to the dogs or this Government." Whatever he has talked to me was to some extent, as I told you, what shall I say, rather unprincipled, he

58. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 436-441.

talked to me. But in this column appears, not my views nor what I say but what he told me, as if I accepted them and much more than he has said to me. Now, I want to meet everybody, more specially people, members of Parliament, Secretaries and all that. Now, I am gradually slowly developing inhibitions. I see someone and I see columns in the paper the next day, it is impossible for me to talk to him frankly. It is distorted. It happens particularly in the case of the Punjab, and I am frightened to see anybody from the Punjab, lest it appear especially in the *Tribune* column, "He has seen me." It is not the fault of the *Tribune* or the paper. When I told them, call them up afterwards, "Surely you do not go about writing about private interviews, and things which are often very wrong." [They said], "If I do not do it, somebody else does it. What am I to do to, somebody else did. Who did it I do not know."

All these difficulties will arise. And this is a very serious matter. Its seriousness is that this involves a certain lack of integrity in the canon of public life. Leave it out, I shall deal with corruption separately. There ought to be a certain decency in our relations with each other. Whether we are in the same party or different parties, it is immaterial; we have to build up certain standards; the words corruption and integrity are held forth in India very often and let us admit it that it is a great problem which we must face. But I do say to you with a good deal of experience about it. I repeat what I said previously, there is more integrity in India in the higher levels than in the most countries that I know of, and I know of a good number of foreign countries. That is not enough for us. I admit that. But we must fight it with all the weapons that we could possess.

How should we do it because again we have to balance the two, to fight corruption and lack of integrity and in that fight not to do so in a way which makes work impossible and which makes the country full of charges and counter-charges. Remember this: that a charge may be rightly laid for some lack of integrity; a charge may very well be laid by the corrupt himself to cover his own corruption. Remember that is often done that, a man who is corrupt makes that charge to cover his corruption. To cry, like the thief, crying out "Thief!" The thief himself cries out so that with the charge and counter-charge, an utter confusion is produced in the public mind. How are we to deal with this serious problem? It is serious not only because such things occur, but even more so, because more and more people talk about it and mention it seriously. How to strike a balance between the two.

Now, you will remember that moreover when a respected citizen⁵⁹ suggested the other day that he had a number of cases in his possession, a number of reports which he had heard which he thought deserved an enquiry, and that he

59. C.D. Deshmukh.

was prepared to place these reports before a high-powered tribunal, a high powered permanent tribunal which the Government might appoint. Now this was a serious charge by an eminent person deserving of every attention. Naturally, I wrote to him asking that I would be grateful if he would let me know what those cases are so that I might try to find out, try to enquire, try to take steps. To that, his answer was that he was not prepared to let me know those cases because, possibly, his informants might get into trouble. He was only prepared to place those records before some tribunal when it was appointed and not send it to me and after a guarantee of immunity to those persons who might perhaps give anything. Now, I wrote to him that I can understand the appointment of a tribunal or any investigating agency for specific cases if they are important enough. But I for one do not know of any country where a permanent tribunal sat to investigate into charges past, present and future, inviting the public to give evidence, had been functioning, and generally some kind of an authority to enquire. Not only the Government, legislature, judiciary, in fact something very high up, broadly speaking judiciary up to the Supreme Court, is supposed to look after broadly speaking the integrity of everything under the law and all that now. But the appointment of a permanent tribunal like that might involve us in an innovation which I have not heard of in any country and I do not see how it would facilitate matters. It would no doubt sit there having the chief function of receiving complaints from any number of people, good complaints, bad complaints, true complaints, false complaints, everything will come, then everything naturally coming in newspapers, half of them being full of various complaints that are constantly coming to this tribunal. Ultimately, the tribunal may reject many of the complaints; everybody will talk about that; and your five year plan, everything, will go to the background, because people naturally are more interested in gossip and discussing human failings than solid work.

I said I do not understand this; and it has no precedent to my knowledge. But I quite understand important cases being taken up by a high powered tribunal. Then I said you need not worry about informants getting into trouble. I do not name any informants. I only want to treat the case itself. It is something to get hold of them. I shall endeavour to enquire in my own way, in a *prima facie* way, and in a more thorough way if I think it is desirable, and if necessary to appoint a tribunal but appointing a tribunal in the air and to accept charges wherever it comes from seems to me not only wrong in principle but in practice to create much more trouble than the good it does. But I did not ask the informant's name, but just the cases. Even that he has not supplied to me; all that was supplied to me was the number of types of cases that occur, just types. That did not help me at all. I sent for our special police and showed them. They

said that it is very difficult for them to go about all over India asking what case there is to fit this type. There is no locality given, no State given. Then there is nothing to find out unless possibly you can judge.

So, I have this difficulty, and I have this difficulty still before me because I am anxious, my government is anxious, to deal with these matters as thoroughly as possible. It does not do good to any government to have a reputation which may come from somebody of any doings to cover the whole government. It does not do any good naturally, we cannot make progress at all in this country if everybody suspects the other of lack of integrity. So that, there is difficulty and one has, as I have pointed out. The problem is to steer clear between the two matters, one is to take active, effective steps where any corruption takes place or can be caught. There again of course the law is a difficult one to prove. We have gone further and said that even where the law is not adequate, if there is moral conviction, even then steps should be taken; all that is true. On the other hand, not to take any step which will create a peculiar atmosphere in the country of charge and counter-charge, encourage not only the real charges to be brought forward, but all manner of false charges to be brought forward, and make it very difficult for our administration to function.

Remember this, that on the one hand, you want our administrative apparatus to have initiative, go, push, and all that. One of the difficulties that has arisen and that does arise in democratic countries is that if that apparatus goes wrong in the slightest, by mistake, not corruption, the whole weight of condemnation may come upon it, in Parliament, in Assemblies, everywhere. What has the poor official to do? He is afraid: "let me not take a risk"—a risk which, if it comes off, will do good to the country; "I dare not because, but if it does not, I will be set upon and crushed!" So that you get that routine administration without life in it. So, I said, because we are afraid of any—that too is a bad thing, perhaps we have to steer clear and we should like the help of this Committee. Congressmen, generally, and our colleagues to help us in this matter, in various ways. The Working Committee was thinking about this. It could not as these proposals have been framed about the appointment of a committee for all our MLAs, MLCs, MPs, three or four thousand people—a committee roaming about the country to enquire, enquiring into—three thousand or four thousand people. Just imagine, where to end and how long it will last, summoning them to the bar. I cannot conceive of its functioning satisfactorily. So, as I said, a kind of central tribunal sitting there asking, inviting charges against, permanently. I do not think this is feasible at all. But we are concerned with this matter, this committee must be—how to deal with this matter satisfactorily. We are giving much thought to it. For every one, more specially for the Congress Ministers, MLAs, MLCs, MPs, etc.

There is one thing possibly which might have a good effect on every one. I hope there is no secret—whether our Finance Minister⁶⁰ is here or not. But we propose to make all income tax assessments public in future [Applause]. That of course, does not stop corruption and all that, but it does bring in the public gaze on the assessments; and what persons are paying income tax or not. I think it is a good thing when it comes about. It may create some difficulties here and there. But that does not matter.

Another thing that the Working Committee has been considering is to invite all Ministers, our Ministers naturally, and to that extent, may be, MLAs, etc.,

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Really he's one of our honest, simple, loyal members—says if the party insists on his disclosing his assets he will join the Swatantra Party!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 20 JANUARY 1960)

60. Morarji Desai.

too to help us in this, by themselves letting us know what their assets are, etc., how they go up and down. All this can be evaded, every rule can be evaded. I realise that. But these are broad checks which need not fall heavily on the individual concerned. And we shall go on thinking about these matters and trying to find ways and means; and where as I said, any matter comes up which deserves enquiry, we shall certainly have an enquiry at the highest level if necessary.⁶¹ [Applause]

21. To Plenary Session: International Affairs⁶²

Mr President and Fellow Delegates,

In the course of the last dozen years or so since we became an independent nation, what are the two main things that have struck the public mind about India in other countries? I imagine that the two main things have been, one, in regard to our domestic affairs, our endeavour to plan on a democratic basis, our endeavour to push the economic development of India in a planned way, because it was perhaps the first time that this was done in a democratic set up. Planning of course had been done a great deal in other countries, in other ways, but this was the first occasion when in a structure of government, an economic structure which was democratic, planned development was followed and followed in a country with a vast population. Now that was important enough in itself because it was bringing about changes in a vast population. It was important also for other countries who were seeking development and who naturally followed us in our course of action, followed I mean in the sense that they tried to understand what we were doing and were perhaps influenced by it. So, that was one thing which attracted the attention of the world.

The second thing which attracted world attention was our broad approach to international affairs and more particularly our policy, as it is called, of non-alignment. Whether people liked it or disliked it, their attention was drawn to it, at first somewhat resentfully. Why should this country, India, big as it is in size, nevertheless a newcomer in the ranks of independent nations, presume to say that we will have our own way of thinking, our own way of action, our own policy, when the great ones of the earth, sitting in big chancelleries and in

61. The resolution was withdrawn after Nehru's speech.

62. Speech during the debate on the Resolution on International Affairs, moved by Indira Gandhi, Sadashivanagar, Bangalore, 17 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

command of great armies and armaments, thought this way or that way? Who were we to march out of the line and stand apart? It was rather irritating. We did not wish to irritate anybody. Far from it. We did not wish to throw about our weight on anybody because really our weight in the international sense was small. We had not been bred in that way during the Gandhi epoch of our country. So, this fact of our international policy, our policy of non-alignment, our opposition to the thought or action which led to cold wars, distinguished us, rightly or wrongly, undoubtedly. It became, I repeat, a distinguishing mark of India in the wide world, disliked by some, liked by others. But gradually you will notice, in the course of these years, the disapproval and the dislike lessened, almost faded out, if not altogether, a great deal, and the suspicion of that policy also faded out. Suspicion I mean because each party thought that under cover of this so-called non-alignment we were secretly lined up with somebody else. They doubted our integrity, our word. Gradually that also went and people at least thought that we might be wrong, but anyhow we were earnestly wrong then and not dishonestly wrong. So there have been changes in the estimation of the wide world in regard to our external policies and, as I have ventured to point out, gradually the essence of those policies or thought behind them and the practical significance of those policies have affected the thinking of other countries also.

Now, do not imagine that I am criticising other countries or presuming to say that they were wrong and we were right. I do no such thing. Each country has to be judged by all manner of factors, by all kinds of policies, by all kinds of pressures, by historical accidents that have conditioned it.

Now take this particular matter of alignment or non-alignment or military blocs. We were fortunate in many ways. Take the countries of Europe. Who am I to tell these great or small countries of Europe what they should have done and what they should not have done? Emerging out of a terrible war, fusing fresh dangers according to their thinking, am I going to tell them you should have done this or that? That would have been completely wrong. I could have my private opinion but even that private opinion would have been based on not a full consideration of the fears and apprehensions that were affecting other countries. And so some things happened in Europe and the Cold War grew up. On grounds of principle and even expediency I was very convinced, as I am now convinced, that the Cold War outlook is not a good outlook, is not practically good, leave out high principles. Nevertheless, it is not for me to criticise others because our country had not gone through those particular harrowing experiences of wartime, the destruction of great countries, the fall of this country or that, what happened during the last Great War in Europe. And there are those fears. Behind those fears is a history of conflicts and fears in Europe

because Europe, remember this, has been a tremendously warring continent. They have always been having wars, wars. They have developed greatly and I admire the countries of Europe tremendously, their culture, their high development, their scientific, industrial, technological achievements. But the fact is that the people of Europe have been a warring people, warring among themselves, sometimes going out and making a nuisance of themselves in other countries. So, now when India becomes independent there was no particular reason why we should inherit the troubles and the conflicts and the jealousies and the fears and apprehensions of Europe, no reason whatever. If we had been a part of Europe we would have felt that way perhaps, I do not know. But there was absolutely no reason. Fortunately for us we started Independence with a clean slate in regard to past hatreds, etc.

There was only one major drawback, an unfortunate one, and that was due to the Partition of India which gave rise to bitterness of feeling between India and Pakistan. That was unfortunate, as we all know, and that has affected our policies in many ways. What is worse, it affected the feelings of our people, as it affected the feelings of the people of Pakistan. That too had no ancient roots. It was a new thing, a new wound of Partition, which gradually has healed, I am glad to say.

But leaving that out, we inherited no hatred against any country, not even against England and Britain which had ruled over us and, according to us misruled over us for so long. So that, why should we with a clean sheet, with no hatreds, no fears, broadly speaking, enter into the lists of Europe as the champions of this or opponents of that? There was no reason at all, it is sheer folly to do that.

Except one possible reason, and that reason could have been the reason of fear, fear driving us in one direction—oh, if we do not do this somebody else may knock us on the head, may flay us, may invade us, may commit aggression on us and all that. That fear, if we were overcome by it, might have led us to seek shelter. Of course, I think that fear would have been very wrong and asking for shelter would have been even more wrong. That is the practical outlook.

But what I am endeavouring to put before this house is this that there was, if you think objectively and with clarity, there was no reason whatever for us to get entangled in the quarrels and the animosities and the past history which had bred those quarrels of Europe. I am using the word Europe for short. But of course you must remember after the Second World War the most dominant country was the United States of America on the one side and the Soviet Union on the other. But I am using Europe just for short.

So the only possible reason that could have led us into this tangle of cold war was fear. And I venture to say with all respect to the other countries that

some other countries outside that cockpit of Europe, some other countries whether in Asia or in Africa which have got entangled in these alliances have done so because of fear and fear alone. They had not inherited these older conflicts. Now, any policy based on fear is, normally speaking, not a good policy. Now again, it is not for me to criticise because geography counts. A small country naturally thinks somewhat differently than a large country, and size and geography and other factors count.

Who am I to criticise another country in Asia or Europe or Africa? I am merely trying to analyse the situation. Now whatever the factors governing the policies of other countries might be, so far as India was concerned it was fortunately situated. Broadly speaking, in the world today, no country is fortunately situated in the sense of its protection, its security, its freedom. That of course is so. But broadly speaking, it was fortunately situated, both historically and geographically, historically because we did not inherit the hatreds and we were wise enough to rid our minds and hearts of the hatred of even the ruling powers that had been here and became friendly. So that we had no particular grievance and it would have been in our case quite astonishingly foolish, if I may use the word, to fall into this business of cold war, either on grounds of principle or on grounds of expediency or in practical politics. So I try to place this aspect before you, because perhaps that aspect has not often been talked about. Of course, so far as we are concerned, I hope you realise our policy was not some sudden bright inspiration of any individual but a gradual growth, and India, even before independence and the inevitable line that we took, followed as a matter of course that thinking.

Foreign policy and domestic policy may be somewhat different. They function in different fields, if you like. But they affect each other. And broadly speaking, they should be in line with each other. You cannot really have a foreign policy completely out of touch with your internal policy or vice versa. They have to be integrated. And that is why it sometimes surprises me that some of our friends in other parties, their conception of foreign policy and their conception of our domestic policy, are poles apart, there is no meeting ground between them. You talk about like-minded parties, like-minded sometimes they are in one matter and absolutely different-minded in other matters. These difficulties arise. From that point of view also of our domestic policy and our external policy, I do not say that there has been perfect coordination between them, but by and large there has been that coordination, that integration which has been helpful to both.

Now again, some people say, do you still believe in this non-alignment etc. in spite of the danger at your frontiers? Again I feel that lack of understanding as to what that policy is. What has the danger at the frontiers got to do with my

policy of non-alignment? I do not see it at all. In fact, if I see it at all, this is the very moment that I should stick to non-alignment even if I had not done so previously, because it is now the time of testing comes for me and my thinking and the Congress thinking. Are we to say, ah, when we were safe then we waved our flags bravely, when danger comes our hands shiver and our feet grow cold and we want shelter under somebody's umbrella? Is that the way you justify your past policies or your present condition? Is that the way a proud nation behaves? I am therefore surprised at this kind of argument. Naturally, I do not think, I try not to think that war will descend upon us and I hope it will not and I believe it will not. Nevertheless, there is danger before us and we prepare for those dangers to the best of our ability and strength. Naturally, we want the goodwill and the sympathy of the world in our thinking, in our action. Naturally, other developments may take place that I cannot envisage today; and I cannot answer for those developments because, as I have said, it is no small matter when the spark of war lights up, we do not know how far it may go, what results it may produce, and more specially in the modern world as it is. I do not wish now to discuss this question of war or no war, but what I wish to say is that the line of thinking which led India, not me only, led India or led the Congress to adopt this policy was not based on fear because we have had, a hundred failings we may have, but we have been conditioned during the Gandhi era not to base our policies on fear, and I hope that the Congress will never act through fear. Certainly, when it chooses to change a policy it will change it because it is an active, dynamic organisation, because it does not go on reciting some mantrams, because it learnt them some time ago, even though the world may change. It will adapt itself to changing conditions and, what is more, it will try to change those conditions also. It is not merely a kind of reacting influence. We have been in the past, this great organisation, we have not only been in step with history but we have also made history. We have not been the playthings of events, though events of course cannot be ignored. We have moulded events, conditioned events, made history in this country, not through fear but because we believed in something, we crusaded for it, we fought for it and we won it. Therefore, why should we suddenly become timid of heart? If some people feel that way in other parties they may keep that to themselves. We have no desire to share this with them.

So think of this and think again of the present day world. It is an odd world, it is a fascinating world, it is an exciting world, it is a dangerous world, call it what you like, it is a world fast changing, and you have to renew yourself, every country has to renew itself in this changing world, every organisation has to renew itself in this changing world and not live on past prestige, past slogans, past thinking, because the whole texture of the world changes.

There was a time in the nineteenth century when Europe dominated the world, you might say. International politics meant what the great European countries said or did, the Congress of Vienna, something at The Hague, or London or Paris, they decided the future of the world. That was the nineteenth century. The twentieth century, with its First World War, made a big change. Nevertheless, Europe remained important; but the United States of America now becomes the dominating figure in world affairs. And by the time of the Second World War further enormous changes took place, as everybody knows, I need not go into them and the United States becomes the most powerful, the richest nation in the world. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, in terms of power and development, also becomes a very great nation. And then there is this conflict of these Great Powers and their groups.

Meanwhile, something else is happening. While many people in Europe and may be even in America think in terms of deciding the future of the world in their conclaves and their alliances and all that, changes occur all over. In Asia changes occur. A number of independent countries came up in Asia, not only India but other countries also, the Arab countries, the South East Asian countries. There is trouble there, there is difficulty there. But the fact remains that independent countries grew up. Sometimes there is a fight for the soul of that independent country between these rival blocs. I call it the soul. It is usually for the control of the government but behind that there is something, a fight for the spirit and soul of those countries. So absorbed were these rivals, leaders of these great blocs, they did not wholly appreciate that other people might think of themselves and not so much of their blocs at all. They might be thinking of their own growth, of their own problems that were different from the old world problems of Europe. It is true that new problems had arisen, it is true that some people talked of international communism as others talked of international capitalism and all that, and there was some truth in what was said. I do not deny that. But the context was different completely for an Asian as it is today, for an African. Any person coming from Asia obviously does not look at the world as it might appear to a person sitting in Europe with his past background, or in America. A person in Africa looks at the world also from a different plane and if you went to the North Pole and sat there I have no doubt the world will look to you quite different as it does because geography counts, the place where you are looking round counts.

So that while these Great Powers still to some extent, not wholly, continue to think in terms of looking after the world, no doubt sometimes they consider this question benevolently, the old colonial tradition was disappearing, the colonial tradition of looking at things was disappearing under the stress of events, and a new element of benevolence at least in speech came in and

somewhat in action. But the new fact was not a question of benevolence or not but that these new countries of Asia thought for themselves, they did not take the tabloid policies and thoughts of other countries for themselves. They had to think. Naturally, they agreed with something, they did not agree with something.

So this very historical development shows to you how it was not particularly clever to expect that countries of Asia would line up with this bloc or that bloc, because they were thinking for themselves, they wanted freedom to think, they wanted freedom to act. They may be friendly, they may be sympathetic with that proposal, they may even ideologically be inclined this way or that way. That is different. But after long years of alien domination, colonialism and suppression, they wanted to think for themselves and act for themselves and they rejected this idea of being told what to do and what not to do. Ah! Yes, if we are convinced of something we cooperate, that was the basic idea, conscious or subconscious, in the countries of Asia.

That is the basic idea, conscious or subconscious, in Africa which is changing with the speed almost of lightning, as our friend Ravi Varma was telling you after his visit to Africa. Because what is happening in Africa is something on a colossal world scale, change, and that change is affecting and will affect the whole context of world events.

Do not think that the world is governed entirely by force of arms, do not think that the future, destiny of the world will be decided by two or three great armed powers, for dividing up the world as in the, when was it, I forget the century, fifteenth or fourteenth century, when the Pope gave half the world to Spain and half the world to Portugal by a Papal Bull. That was done. And this argument was advanced four or five or six years ago, more perhaps, when we approached the Portuguese Government in Goa. They presented us with a Papal Bull of the fifteenth century (Laughter). This is very difficult to deal with, the fifteenth century in the middle of the twentieth century. That realisation has not entirely come to all the people in other continents, that it is difficult to deal in the middle of the twentieth century with ideas drawn from not the fifteenth century but even the nineteenth century. The world has changed and is changing.

And so we stand here at the crest of this tremendous change in the world, looking at it; a tremendous drama is unravelling before our eyes. But we are not mere onlookers there, we are actors in this drama and we propose to be actors in it in our own way, friendly actors with friendship towards other countries, where we do not agree expressing our disagreement but also in friendly terms; because we believe that the approach of unfriendliness does not certainly win over the other party, it only creates more difficulties for us and for others. To expect everyone to agree is difficult, but to expect that disagreement itself will be offered in a friendly manner is not unreasonable. It tones down the

disagreement and finally you follow your own policy. That leads to this Cold War outlook being wrong and you will see today that that is the result of the thinking of most not only sensitive people but those people who are normally not sensitive, that is the people who run governments, they are not sensitive at all of course. As Prime Minister I am not sensitive, as an individual I am sensitive (Laughter).

So today you see this happening, these changes taking place. They may lead to changes in the world, one does not know. We welcome those trends. I am not sure what it will lead to but I do feel that it is likely to lead to good results. We welcome the initiative taken by the leaders of nations, and more particularly by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev in this matter. Those initiatives depend certainly on goodwill, good intentions but again when you deal with countries and their foreign policy they are not based just on goodwill and good intentions. They are based on a factual appraisal of situations and the factual appraisal of situations is making these great countries feel that this kind of cold war approach and armaments and all that is ruinous and may be absolutely exhausting. That is the practical result—fortunately the practical results of thinking fitting in with good will and good intentions. It is a good thing. That is what is happening. There are of course many hurdles in the way and nobody can know, can say with definiteness what will happen or what will not happen. But I do believe that the trend in the world is towards peaceful settlement of problems, is the avoidance of war because the realisation has come that the war, wars, major wars can bring victory to nobody and may bring utter destruction to everybody.

So, the world changes before our eyes and in this changing world we have to have clear minds and we have to have firm feet and we have to have stout hearts. Nothing else will help, clear minds to understand this changing world, stout feet not to be swept away by any gust of wind or fear or apprehension that might come our way, and stout hearts to meet every position that comes, with faith in ourselves in this great organisation and in our country.

(ii) Party Organisation

22. To S. Radhakrishnan: P. D. Tandon's Resignation⁶³

January 1, 1960

My dear Radhakrishnan,

Thank you for sending me the message about Shri Purushottamdas Tandon's resignation. He has not been attending Rajya Sabha and there is little chance of his getting well again.

I wanted to come and see you today, 1st of January, but unhappily I could not manage it. I am leaving tomorrow morning for Bombay.

All my good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Bidesh Kulkarni for the AICC⁶⁴

Shri Bidesh Kulkarni is a good constructive worker of some note. He has been a Professor in Bombay and a Congress member of the Bombay Council.⁶⁵ His contacts with labour also have been good.

He has started a small organisation called the "Friends of Five Year Plan", which has done good work; quietly without appealing for funds.

I enclose a letter I have received from him. I do not know if it is possible to nominate anyone to the AICC now and, if so, how far such persons can be nominated. The three names would anyhow be too many from an organisation of this type. At the most one person, namely. Shri Bidesh Kulkarni, might be considered in this connection.

63. Letter to the Vice President.

64. Note to N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Congress President, 8 January 1960.

65. 1949-56.

24. To Pannalal: Apology for not Meeting⁶⁶

जनवरी 23, 1960

प्रिय पन्नालाल जी,

आपका 21 जनवरी का पत्र मिला। मुझे खेद है कि आपको मुझे इलाहाबाद में मिलने में कुछ कठिनाई हुई थी। मैं इस बात को स्वीकार करता हूँ कि इलाहाबाद काँग्रेस कमेटी के सदस्यों को पूरा अधिकार मुझे मिलने का होना चाहिए। लेकिन इस मामले में पुलिस वालों को भी कठिनाई होती है और जब उनसे कहा जाता है कि जिनके पास, पास हों वही जाने चाहिए, तो उसी तरह से वह काम करते हैं। मैं अब की बार इलाहाबाद बहुत कम देर के लिए गया था, और करीब सारा समय माघ मेले में गुज़रा। इसलिए मैंने कोई मिलने का प्रबन्ध खास नहीं किया था।

आपका

जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

January 23, 1960

Dear Pannalalji,

Received your letter of 21st January. I regret that you faced some difficulty in meeting me at Allahabad. I agree that the members of the Allahabad Congress should have full freedom to meet me. But in this situation, the policemen also face some problems; and when they are told that only people who have passes should be allowed in, they follow the instructions. This time I went to Allahabad on a very short visit, and almost all my time was spent at the Magh Mela. That is why I had not made any proper arrangements for meeting anybody.

Yours,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends.]

66. Letter to a retired senior civil servant and former Adviser to the UP Governor.

(b) States

(i) General

25. To Vishnu Sahay: Developing Border Areas⁶⁷

You will remember that at today's Cabinet meeting, a committee was appointed with you as Chairman to look into the question of the development of border areas in the U.P., Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. I have just received a note from Foreign Secretary⁶⁸ with which he has sent me the minutes of a meeting held on the 16th December to consider the question of better administration and accelerated economic development of the border areas in Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. If you have not already seen this note, you might get a copy of it from Foreign Secretary.

2. In this note, attention is chiefly devoted to border security and the raising of armed police constabulary, etc. The Himachal Pradesh is not dealt with as it is directly under the Central Government. As regards UP and the Punjab, a certain administrative pattern is suggested which would lead to the creation of new administrative sub-divisions in border areas.

3. As regards Ladakh, it is suggested that the Central Government should accept the offer of the State and, under the provisions of Article 258 A of the Constitution, take over charge of the administration of the region. I am rather doubtful about this proposal to utilise Article 258 A. I would prefer no Constitutional step to be taken, if this can be avoided, but in effect the Central Government being more or less in charge of this area. However, this matter can be discussed later.

4. So far as your committee is concerned, I take it that it will deal more particularly with development of U.P., Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab border areas.

5. I see from the note that the Foreign Secretary has sent me that Shri Shankar Prasad⁶⁹ has been asked to take charge of this subject of the border areas. You might, therefore, include him in your committee.⁷⁰

67. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 5 January 1960. File No. 20/1/ CF/60, Vol. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat.

68. Subimal Dutt.

69. Special Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, 1958-65.

70. On 8 February 1960, Vishnu Sahay sent the Committee's first report to Nehru. It pointed out the urgent need for extra funds for welfare and infrastructure. The Finance Minister observed that State Governments should contribute at least half of the extra expenditure, since welfare, not policing, was involved. On 11 February Nehru noted that this be considered by the concerned Ministers before being sent to Cabinet.

(ii) Punjab

26. To N.V. Gadgil: The Kairon Question⁷¹

January 1, 1960

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th December⁷² about the Karnal case,⁷³ etc. I am myself convinced that Partap Singh Kairon is a man of worth. He has, of course, great energy and considerable capacity for work. These very virtues have led him to errors of judgment, such as withdrawal of a case from court. If he is convinced that a person is not guilty of the offence he is charged with, then he thinks the obvious course is to withdraw the case. I have pointed out to him that wrong procedures are likely to lead to wrong results. Therefore, one should not short-circuit procedures.

I think that one of his chief difficulties is the behaviour of his son.⁷⁴

Some of the newspapers of Delhi have evidently started a deliberate campaign against Partap Singh. I understand that some assistant editors or sub-editors have close contacts with the Congress dissidents in the Punjab and they publish sometimes entirely unfounded reports and sometimes pervert news. In this morning's papers there is an account of the proceedings of the Central Parliamentary Board held yesterday. This account is largely wrong. No official account was given, but evidently somebody picked up tit-bits and made up a story. The whole stress of the Parliamentary Board yesterday was on its disapproval of the action of the dissidents.

I find also that whenever any of these Punjab M.Ps or M.L.As comes to see me, a report appears in the press the next day which is far from correct.

Partap Singh told us that an appeal would be filed in the Karnal case and we agreed to it.

I am glad to know what you have written about the SGPC election. Obviously these elections have considerable significance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

71. Letter to the Governor of Punjab.

72. See Appendix 2.

73. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 91-96.

74. Surinder Singh Kairon.

27. To Partap Singh Kairon: Communist Propaganda in Kangra⁷⁵

January 22, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I am informed that the Communist Party of India is carrying on a good deal of propaganda in regard to the India-China issue in the Kangra district. The main stress of this propaganda is that Chou En-lai and I should meet immediately. Apart from this, the general impression is created, that China is very reasonable and it is we who are creating trouble.

This kind of thing, of course, cannot be easily dealt with by Government. It is for the Congress to deal with it. I wonder if you can suggest to the Punjab Congress people to pay some attention to the Kangra district from this point of

stress of this propaganda is that Chou En-lai and I should meet immediately. Apart from this, the general impression is created, that China is very reasonable

and it is we who are creating trouble.

This kind of thing, of course, cannot be easily dealt with by Government. It is for the Congress to deal with it.

(...) North E

28. At Shillong: Public Meeting⁷⁶

Friends and comrades, Kublai⁷⁷

First of all, I must express my gratitude to you, men and women of these Khasi Jaintia hills, for your address of welcome and all that you have said in it. Secondly, I must express my, what shall I say, my,... I don't know what to say. I don't want to say anything in resentment at the Chief Minister⁷⁸ because he has said everything I intended saying here. I don't quite know what more to say. Of course, he has said so. (No, you may expect it, I don't expect it). The Chief Minister, my friend and colleague Chaliha has spoken better, with greater knowledge of this state, than I could. I wish, therefore, to associate myself with practically everything that the Chief Minister has said.

75. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

76. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the hydro-electric project across the river Umain, Barapani near Shillong, 9 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

77. Greeting in Khasi.

78. Bimla Prasad Chaliha.

You know that this State of Assam, in the long past under British rule, was a much neglected state, simply because this frontier of Assam was not considered an important frontier, a dangerous frontier, and, therefore, nobody of the then administration thought much of it. I suppose the only thing that they gave thought to were the tea gardens, tea plantations of Assam.

Well, all that is over now, and the mere fact of Independence necessitated that every state of India should advance properly and no state should be left lagging behind. Then, independence brought provincial autonomy and all else with it, and naturally your representatives, your government in Assam, were eager to show results, and they often complained to us about many matters which were delayed or which they wanted done here and were not being done. Then gradually, Assam also became much better known and appreciated in other parts of India, and they realised that this north-eastern state of our country was indeed a very precious part of our country, a very beautiful and not only beautiful but very important part of our country. Beautiful of course it is, important it became in the eyes of many people because you have oil. I am sorry, I have to say these rather crude facts but because not only of the oil you have, but the oil you are going to have undoubtedly, made this state important in the eyes of the whole country.

Then again, this, the frontier, which is the frontier of India, your two frontiers, international frontier, the frontiers with Pakistan and the frontiers now with China, Tibet. These frontiers, the frontier, so far as the frontier with Pakistan is concerned, it has given you a great deal of trouble. But I am glad to know that this frontier now, after the recent agreement with Pakistan,⁷⁹ is a quiet and peaceful frontier. That is good for us and for Pakistan. And I hope that our other frontiers with Pakistan on the western side will also become a quiet and peaceful frontier with trade going across it. Now, well, that has become a peaceful frontier and the other frontier in the north has moved in the other direction and it has become a somewhat dangerous frontier, as you all know. And that makes it important for us to guard those frontiers, whether they are here in Assam or in other parts of India. It makes it important for us to build roads and communications and many other things. So you see that from many points of view this State of Assam has become more and more important from the point of view of the whole country. But, quite apart from all these reasons, the primary importance for you and for me is that we should develop this state so that the people of this state should prosper, should advance, should progress and should have higher standards of life.

79. On 23 October 1959. See SWJN/SS/53/p. 485.

Many things have been done in the past ten or twelve years and many things have been planned, but it is true that the major things are only now coming into evidence. One, I have mentioned, is oil. The second is this great bridge over the Brahmaputra which I am going to inaugurate or start off tomorrow.⁸⁰ But a country really only prospers if it has many industries, small, big; big industries can only be put in particular places. You can't spread them out everywhere, but small industries can be spread out everywhere, provided you have power for those industries. Of course, one of the biggest industries in India is going to be oil that you will certainly have. Now, for the rest, development requires power and today's ceremony represents the coming of power to Assam. Therefore, what Chalihaaji said was completely right, that this event, in which you and I are associating ourselves, is a significant and almost historic event from the point of view of Assam because it means the coming of power to Assam, the power which will be translated, which will be used in industries and in many other ways; so that, we should consider this event as significant and important and I am happy that I am participating in it.

The people who live in Assam, I have said previously, are very fortunate, living in these beautiful surroundings, in this good climate and, ultimately, it is the people who count, remember this, not the tall chimneys that may grow up. Probably I imagine that you are stouter, tougher here, living in this decent climate, than people in other parts of India may be. You have that great advantage. Now you have to utilise that by advancing on many fronts and I have no doubt that the future of Assam is going to be a bright and prosperous one, provided always that the people of Assam work hard. There is no way to progress for any country except through hard work. This is not a question of the Central Government or the State Government passing laws. Laws do not mean work; laws mean clearing, making the path clear forward. A law does not create anything by itself, anything material. If the law did it, we pass a law; let there be a hydro-electric works and there will be hydro-electric works, but there won't be. We have to work for it.

Therefore, please remember that the future of Assam ultimately depends upon the people of Assam and their capacity to work hard and work together. It depends on other factors too, not only the future of Assam but the future of the whole country, this working together, that is, unitedly, having unity amongst you and not being pushed hither and thither by petty quarrels as we are accustomed today in our country. If you avoid them, we shall advance quickly. We waste so much of our energy in India on these internal dissensions and quarrels. If that energy was applied to constructive work, we will advance much

80. See item 29.

faster. Now, so I have said, you will have to work hard. The whole of India will have to work hard. That is one thing. There are two other basic things which I should like you to remember, and India and everybody in India to remember. And if these three things are remembered, all is well with India whatever happens in the wide world.

What are the two other things? Fearlessness, not having fear, not becoming afraid of anything; then you will be self-reliant, relying in yourself, having faith in yourself, in your people, in the country. Mahatma Gandhi taught us this lesson of fearlessness. And even the small poor peasant in the field stood up straight, his head high and shed his fear. The whole of India was transformed, not by any law, but by the fact that somehow or other as Gandhiji was saying it, all of us became less afraid. It was a tremendous and almost a miraculous change. So remember this fearlessness. We want our country, we want our people everywhere, here in Assam and elsewhere, not to be full of fear. That is number two.

What is number three? Number three is high integrity. I should like to say absolute integrity, but, anyway, high integrity. All of us in our public dealings or private dealings must cultivate integrity that is also something on which Gandhiji laid great stress. If we are to do big things in this country, as we intend doing, we can't do them by trickery, we can't do them by deluding each other, by playing tricks on each other. We have to do them by being frank with each other and by cultivating absolute integrity in our public and private dealings. So remember these three things: hard work, fearlessness and integrity. If you remind yourself frequently every morning that these three things are the most necessary in India, if our children remind themselves, it would be a good thing. Because remember, we in India are on the verge of great things, of great changes, and if great changes are coming, they would involve a great deal of work, they may involve great dangers, they will involve great burdens, all that; because a nation cannot progress by living the soft life, by being lazy, by just thinking that somebody will do it for them. Nobody is going to do it for you, you and I will have to do it for our country. Certainly, our friends may help us, our friends abroad, friendly countries may help us, may lend us money, may give us credits, may help us in many ways, and we shall be grateful to them because at a moment of this kind it is true that help is needed by us in big measure; but all the help that comes from outside is only a small part of the burden that we have to carry. The real burden is our own and we have to carry it, and if somebody else did it for us, it would do us no good. Just as, if we want to have bodily health, we have to exercise, we have to discipline ourselves, then we shall have bodily health. We can't have it by lying in bed and somebody else doing the exercises for us!

So, we have arrived at a stage in India which is a very delicate and important stage. We have made considerable progress in the last twelve years. That very progress has brought us great problems, the problems of changing a country which is underdeveloped into a country with a modern industrialised economy. That is the big thing. We are one of the two or three countries in the world which have arrived at that stage. Some countries of course have passed that stage, the rich countries, but most others are underdeveloped. So we are one of the two or three countries which are approaching that stage and it requires hard work. And the symbols of that lie both in our agriculture and our industry. Agriculture, of course, is of vital importance to India and therefore it is necessary in our agriculture to modernise it, not to stick to old methods except where they are good. We should use modern techniques of agriculture; I am not referring to huge tractors and combines, they are not always suitable in India, but modern ploughs, modern implements, fertilizers, manures, compost, good seeds and all kinds of simple things every peasant knows; but he must work hard and do it. I am surprised to see in many places peasants using, our farmers using, old ploughs, old ploughs that were used one thousand years ago in India, may be two thousand years ago. How can you modernise your agriculture or increase your product by merely praying to the gods and not working hard enough and using proper implements? The gods do not favour the lazy and the indolent. So we have to oppose this problem with this realisation that we have to make goods ourselves, nobody else is going to do it for us. It is no good, people running up to the State Government, do this for us; it is no good that State Government running to Central Government, do this for us. Everybody wants others to do things for them. They have to develop self-reliance; doing things for ourselves. Of course the State Government should help. Of course the Central Government should help. That is what they are for. But they can only help those who rely on themselves. In agriculture, more especially, it is the farmer who has got to do the job. It is good husbandry that will lead to results, not orders from the top, and that is why in many areas of India we are decentralising, we are giving power and authority and resources to the village councils, to the panchayats, to the village samities, so that they must shoulder the responsibility. That is why we have been laying stress on cooperation, cooperatives, which are vital in everything, I believe, whether it is agriculture or industry. The future belongs, I believe, to the cooperative way of approach. And that is something more than a superficial cooperative. Ultimately, the cooperative way is the way of life which I should like to develop in this country.

So, you have to do all these things. We have, ultimately, to make this country a country, if I may use the word, alive and standing on its toes, so that it is always ready to jump and run and go forward, not seated and lying down in a

bed. So agriculture, of course, is important. But take industry, all those great big plants that are being built, steel plants in various places and so many other things, machine-building plants and oil plants that will be built here in Assam, are basic foundations of the big industrial age which is coming to India. In that you are going to share. So we stand at this transition period in our country and we must push ahead fast, wake up, forget our troubles and our conflicts and remember that the biggest [...] we are facing the biggest conflict of all, that is, the conflict with our poverty and backwardness, and all of us have to combine together to fight it. That is the major question in India.

But in addition to this you know that new questions have arisen on our border, new dangers, new threats. Now, in regard to that problem also I should like you to apply those three principles that I said to you, hard work, fearlessness and integrity. Because the problems of these border troubles raised would involve hard work and burdens, they will involve fearlessness. And integrity should always be there. And these problems of the border are going to be with us in some form or other for a considerable time. Do not imagine that they will suddenly disappear or be solved. In the nature of things they are going to be with us. We are peaceful people, we have been trained in that for ages past; we have been specially trained by Mahatma Gandhi; and ever since we became independent we have followed peaceful policies. We have worked for world peace and our own policy has been conditioned by that.

Therefore, we do not easily think of any conflict. We always want to avoid conflicts and we shall always go on working for peace and the avoidance of conflict and war. That is true. We shall also always try to find a peaceful way to the settlement of any problem that arises.

That also is true; but that does not quite exhaust the picture. Because if danger threatens, we cannot run away from it, we have to face it. Every self-respecting nation protects its territory, faces dangers even at the cost of any burden or any disaster that may come to it because the greatest disaster of all is submission to evil, submission to aggression and surrendering yourself to the will of another. Therefore, we have to face now this problem that has newly arisen on our borders and protect it with all our might and even in the protection of that, of course, our armed forces play an important part and they will play their part, I have no doubt, well. But today this is not a matter of armed forces, it is a matter of the people, generally to help in this business, in many ways, help their morale, their stamina, their hard work, their production and even developing some soldierly qualities by training. Militias, N.C.C and Territorial Army and so many things which give an opportunity to the people to train, which also benefits them because their training benefits them, and in case of need they can then offer themselves for other duties. People seem to think, our

people more specially, our educated people, that this Territorial Army and the rest is not meant for them. It is meant for, well, peasants, etc. It is completely wrong. The Territorial Army is meant for the best of us. And it would be a good thing if people of intellectual and other accomplishments join the Territorial Army, and set an example thereby; it will do them good, I can tell you, that training, that is physically good to everybody and they will set an example, because in such matters there are no big people or small, there are no rich people or non-intellectual people. Every man must shoulder his responsibility for the defence of his country.

In other countries they have conscription, which means that every man, every young man, has to have military service. He cannot evade it by payment of money or anything else. He must do it, a year, two years, or whatever the period may be. We have not that conscription here, we do not intend to have it in the normal way, but people must come forward for this training. We are not suggesting any long training for the moment; they should join the N.C.C., it should be enlarged, the Territorial Army should receive more people and there is a Lok Sahayak Sena; all these are various methods and we may have other methods of training also. People write to me letters, young men from colleges, that all because of this danger on our frontier we want to offer ourselves, give up our lives. Well, it is pleasing to read these letters, but a test of that is not the letter you have written, the test of that is how far they can work here and now, train themselves. This offer of a life has no meaning to me and has no meaning to the country either. It is the trained man that counts, not a person who emotionally writes letters, strong letters. Therefore, the test of the country is how many people offer to train themselves or offer to take up the training that may be arranged for them.

So, there is this new problem of the border. Now the two problems: that is, the development of India, the industrialisation of India, the modernisation of agriculture in India, our five year plans which cover all this and all the other things included. That's one aspect. And the other is the defence of India. Two burdens we have to carry. Fortunately for us the two overlap, they are not separate. The more India develops, the stronger we are to protect her. Therefore, we must proceed before speed. In our development programmes here, your hydro-electric work scheme is as much part of strengthening India and, therefore, the defence of India, as anything else. The defence of India is not a matter merely of people in uniform. It is a matter of every individual; how much he works, how much he produces, how much he is prepared to give of himself for his country.

Therefore, look at it in this broad way, look at this magnificent picture of this great country, India, spread out from these northern mountains to the

southern seas, working to raise the level of our four hundred million people to higher standards, to put an end to their poverty and misery, to bring every opportunity of growth to every child in India and grown-up too, to put an end to these inequities in India as far as possible, the great differences between the rich and the poor and to build up a society, a free society, a cooperative society, a prosperous and fearless society.

So, that is the great adventure in which we are engaged, tremendous thing, a magnificent thing, and if you think of yourself as a person also taking part in this great adventure, then you are not working for some selfish object, personal object, but you are working for the greatest object that you can imagine. Think of it in this way because when you are working for bigger objectives, you become big with them. If you are always thinking of yourself, then you become narrow-minded and small, you remain there. Here is an invitation to you on behalf of India, to join together in this magnificent adventure of building up India, to join together in the other duty of every citizen to defend India whenever need arises and, therefore, to prepare yourself and to train yourself for that defence, because whether it is production or whether it is development, it is the trained person that counts. Not the untrained person who can merely shout slogans. Training counts.

So, I am happy to have come here today and participated in this significant and historic occasion. And I congratulate you on this and I congratulate you more, even more on the future, on the bright future that is opening out for Assam.

Now you say Jai Hind with me three times.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

29. At Gauhati: Public Meeting⁸¹

बहिनों और भाइयों,

अभी कई हमारे भाई और साथी आपके सामने बोले और सभी ने कहा कि यह एक शुभ दिन है। शुभ दिन की क्या पहचान है? कुछ लोग जाते हैं पंचांगों को देखने, ज्योतिष देखते हैं, ज्योतिषियों को बुलाते हैं कि कौन शुभ दिन है, विवाह के लिए, इसके उसके सब के लिए, कोई तारों को देखते हैं, कोई माला जपते हैं, तरह-तरह के लोग होते हैं। लेकिन शुभ दिन की असल पहचान यह है कि जिस दिन कोई शुभ काम करें, वह काम दिन को शुभ बनाता है। शुभ दिन नहीं काम पर असल डालता। आप पंचांग को पढ़ के कोई शुभ दिन चुन के बुरा काम करें तो

81. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the rail-and-road bridge across the Brahmaputra, Pandu near Gauhati, 10 January 1960. Air tapes, NMML.

वह अशुभ दिन है। चाहे कितना ही पंचाग कहे आपसे कि वह शुभ दिन है और किसी दिन आप शुभ काम करें तो वो काम उस दिन के साथ बंध जाता है, और उसको शुभ कर देता है। तो यह ठीक बात है कि आज एक शुभ दिन है इसलिए कि आप एक शुभ काम कर रहे हैं और एक माने में एक ऐतिहासिक काम भी है।

मैं यहाँ बैठा, कभी आप लोगों की तरफ़ देखूँ, कभी मुड़ के ब्रह्मपुत्र की तरफ़ देखूँ और मैं सोचूँ कि कितने लाखों करोड़ों बरस से ब्रह्मपुत्र यहाँ से वहाँ है। और कैसे इसकी लहरों में कितने इतिहास, किस्से, कहानियाँ बँधी हैं। क्या-क्या इसने देखा, क्या-क्या उपद्रव किया इसने आके क्रोध में? क्या-क्या भलाई की? जो पानी ब्रह्मपुत्र का इस समय है, वो तो नया पानी है। क्योंकि पानी वहाँ के समुद्र में चला जाता है। तो हर समय ब्रह्मपुत्र बदलता रहता है। एक ही पानी तो नहीं रहता, हर समय पानी जाता है और उसकी जगह नया पानी आता है।

इसी तरह से एक देश का जीवन है, लोग आते हैं और जाते हैं। लेकिन देश चलता जाता है। देश का सिलसिला चलता है और वह एक व्यक्ति सा समझा जाने लगता है, देश। हालाँकि हर थोड़े बरस में उसकी जनता, उसकी आबादी बदल जाती है, लेकिन कड़ियों से बँधी रहती है। तो हमारे देश में आप जानते हैं जो बड़ी-बड़ी नदियाँ हैं उनका बड़ा आदर होता है, कुछ लोग पूजा भी किया करते हैं, गंगा-जमुना, नर्मदा, गोदावरी, कृष्णा, सिंधु नदी थी, ब्रह्मपुत्र। और पूजा करना तो मैं समझता नहीं किसी चीज़ की, लेकिन आदर करना मैं समझता हूँ। और आदर करना बड़ी नदियों का ठीक है। क्योंकि नदियों के किनारे कितने काम हुए हैं, हमारे देश के बड़े-बड़े नगर हैं, शहर हैं, नदियों के किनारे पर। संस्कृति नदियों के किनारे से शुरू हुई। अगर आप हमारी प्राचीन पुस्तकें पढ़ें तो आप देखें कि वेदों तक में लिखा है, जब गंगा सामने आई तो कैसे प्रसन्न हुए लोग, जो आ रहे थे बड़ी दूर से।

मेरा जन्म गंगा और यमुना के किनारे हुआ। तो मैं तो न गंगा की पूजा करता हूँ न जमुना की। लेकिन प्रेम दोनों से करता हूँ और हमेशा मुझे याद रहती है क्योंकि मेरा बचपन गंगा-जमुना के मिलने की जगह पर हुआ है। और भारत के इतिहास में कितना इन महान नदियों का एक बड़ा हाथ है, ब्रह्मपुत्र का बड़ा हाथ है। ऊपर से मानसरोवर के करीब से निकलती है तिब्बत में, और पहाड़ों को चीर कर यहाँ आसाम प्रदेश में आती है, और फिर आगे बढ़ती है। तो यह सब विचार मेरे मन में आए यहाँ देखकर और मुझे एक और भी, एक चित्र आया मन में। कुछ बरस हुए जब ब्रह्मपुत्र क्रोध में बढ़ रही थी, फैल रही थी बरसात के समय पर और वहाँ डिब्रूगढ़ में, मेरी आँखों के सामने डिब्रूगढ़ नगर को खाती जाती थी। बड़ा मुख है ब्रह्मपुत्र का, आँखों के सामने डिब्रूगढ़ के मकान गिरते जाते थे उसमें, पेड़ गिरते जाते थे उसमें, कोई उसको रोक नहीं सकता था उस समय। यह बात ठीक नहीं है, रोक सकते थे उस समय, नहीं तो बाद में और बाद में उसको रोका और तो उसके बाद, बड़ी-बड़ी आई, लेकिन डिब्रूगढ़ बच गया, कैसे बचा? मनुष्य के काम से, माला जपने से नहीं बचा, ज्योतिषियों के पास जाने से पैसा देने से नहीं बचा, मनुष्य के परिश्रम से और काम से बचा। क्योंकि याद रखिए आप जो भविष्य की तरफ़ देखते हैं और कम से कम देखना चाहिए आपको, जो आप नौजवान हैं कि भारत का क्या भविष्य होगा? दुनिया का क्या भविष्य होगा? भविष्य तारों में और आसमान में नहीं लिखा है भविष्य, पंचांगों में नहीं लिखा भविष्य, कहाँ एक पूजा से भविष्य पर

नहीं असर होता। भविष्य लिखा हुआ है आजकल की जाति के मन में और हाथों में की शक्ति में (तालियाँ), भविष्य है। भविष्य वो होता है, जो आप और हम मिलकर करें, वो भविष्य है। कहीं और से कहाँ से भविष्य आएगा? हमारे हाथ में कलम है इतिहास की, भविष्य का इतिहास लिखने के लिए अगर हमें हाथों में शक्ति हो और मन में शक्ति है तो हम लिख सकते हैं, नहीं तो हम इधर-उधर मारे मारे फिरेंगे।

तो प्रश्न यह उठता है कि हम में, हमारी देश की जनता में, हमारे नौजवानों में, लड़कों में और लड़कियों में जो बढ़ रहे हैं उनमें यह शक्ति है- भविष्य को बनाने की, कि खाली, हाथ फैला के चीजें माँगने की शक्ति है। हाथ फैला के चीजें माँग तो सब सकते हैं, चाहे कोई देने वाला हो, चाहे न हो। लेकिन लोग वो होते हैं जो भविष्य को बनाते हैं और जो इधर-उधर नहीं देखते। जो बहुत माँगते नहीं हैं, जो निश्चय करते हैं, इक़रार करते हैं कि भविष्य वो है जो हम बनायेंगे अपनी शक्ति से। और जो निश्चय करते हैं, प्रस्ताव और रेवॉल्यूशन करते हैं कि हम यह करेंगे। यह नहीं कि तुम यह करो, औरों के ऊपर बोझा डाल देना। और हमारे देश के सामने भी प्रश्न है कि हम क्या करेंगे आज, कल और परसों और हम किस तरह से देश को उठावेंगे, बनायेंगे? यह प्रश्न है इस ढँग के, यह नहीं कि आप सड़क पर घूमें, नारे उठाए कि तुम क्या करो और तुम यह करो और यह न करो। वो ज़माना गुज़रा, नया युग है, नया ज़माना है, जिसमें हम और आप रहते हैं, समझते हैं कुछ आप कि किस ज़माने में आप हैं, कैसे युग बदल रहे हैं? जब कि लोग चाँद तक अपने तीर कमान चलाते हैं, कुछ पुरुष। जब कि विज्ञान दुनिया को बदल रहा है जब कि अनेक बातें हो रही हैं जो कि किसी को स्वप्न में भी पहले नहीं आती थीं वो आजकल मनुष्य कर रहा है। और जो मनुष्य कर रहा है वो मनुष्य, दूसरा मनुष्य कर सकता है। जो और देशों में हो रहा है वो हमारा देश कर सकता है और करेगा वो। और कोशिश करेगा उससे और आगे बढ़ने की, किसी से दुश्मनी में नहीं, किसी के मुकाबले में नहीं, प्रेम से। लेकिन अपने ऊपर हिम्मत करके भरोसा करके, आत्मविश्वास से और परिश्रम से। क्योंकि दुनिया में काम एक ही तरह से होते हैं परिश्रम से। और जितना परिश्रम होगा उतना ही काम अच्छा होगा और जल्दी होगा। और जो लोग औरों को चाहते हैं और उनका काम कर दें वो पिछड़ जाते हैं दुनिया में, कोई और उनको नहीं ले जाएगा आगे और हमारा देश भी अगर ये समझे कि उसको भी कोई और देश अपने कंधे पर रख के आगे ले जायेगा। तो बड़े भ्रम में हैं वो। इस तरह से देश नहीं बढ़ते। अपने पैर, अपनी टाँगों अपने परिश्रम, अपनी मानसिक, शक्ति से देश बढ़ते हैं।

तो यह सबक हमें सीखना है। क्योंकि, यह एक बड़ा समय हमारे सामने आजकल का बड़ा कठिन समय है। कठिन भी है, अच्छा भी है, मुश्किल भी है। अच्छा है इसलिए कि हमारे सामने तरह-तरह के दरवाज़े खुलते जाते हैं, तरह-तरह के रास्ते बनते जाते हैं, जिसमें आप और हम और सारे हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमी आगे बढ़ें हैं। रास्ते खुलते जाते हैं। हाँ, रास्तों में कठिनाई है, रास्ते में गड़बड़े हैं बड़े-बड़े, फिसल के हम गिर सकते हैं लेकिन रास्ते खुलते जाते हैं।

जब अँग्रेजी राज्य का समय था यहाँ तो एक तरह से कहा जा सकता है कि जो आजकल हमारे सामने बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न आते हैं वो नहीं थे। बात ठीक है, वो प्रश्न हमारे सामने नहीं थे

क्योंकि हमारे सामने एक महान प्रश्न था कि हम अँग्रेजी राज्य को यहाँ से कैसे हटाएँ, और स्वराज्य कैसे हो? जब कोई और राज्य करता है किसी देश में तो एक ही प्रश्न रह जाता है और प्रश्न औरों के होते हैं, वो था। अब अँग्रेजी राज्य गया तो हमारे ऊपर हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी हुई, ज़िम्मेदारी हमारे ऊपर आई कि देश किधर जाये, क्या करे, क्या न करे? अब हम किसी दूसरे के ऊपर नहीं डाल सकते। तो महान प्रश्न उठने लगे, जिन प्रश्नों को अँग्रेजी राज्य के ज़माने में बक्से में बंद कर के ताला लगा के छुपा के रख दिया था, समाज के प्रश्न, दरिद्रता के, गरीबी के प्रश्न, देश के उद्धार के प्रश्न, वो प्रश्न उस समय नहीं थे। अब हमारे सामने हैं। और हैं इसलिए कि हमने खुद चाबी ले के, बक्से का ताला खोल के उन प्रश्नों को निकाला और कहा कि हम उनको हल करेंगे, देश का उद्धार करें, देश के करोड़ों आदमी उठेंगे, देश में कोई शख्स ऐसा नहीं होगा, कोई व्यक्ति, कोई व्यक्ति, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए जो कि दुःख में हो, जो खुशहाल नहीं हो, कोई ऐसा न हो जिसको मौका उन्नति का, अवसर न मिले। तो यह बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हैं, माला जपने से नहीं होती हैं, परिश्रम से, एकता से, बुद्धि से ये प्रश्न आए। आप सोचो कि दुनिया में सारे संसार में इससे बड़ा प्रश्न क्या हो सकता है कि जिसमें चालीस कोटि आदमियों का भविष्य क्या हो? इतने बड़ी एक दुनिया का इतना बड़ा भाग क्या हो? बड़े भारी सवाल हैं, क्या हो। उन चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को कौन उठाए? बाहर वाला उठाए कोई बाहर से आ के, वो कैसे उठायेगा, उसकी ताकत क्या है? या दिल्ली में सरकार बैठी है वो आ के चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाए या यहाँ शिलांग में बैठी है। यहाँ के आसाम प्रदेश की सरकार, वो उठाए? इस धोखे में आप नहीं पड़िए, कोई नहीं आपको उठाएगा। अगर आपकी टांगों में हिम्मत है तो आप उठेंगे, नहीं तो नहीं उठेंगे, चाहे सरकार अपने सिर पर खड़ी हो जाए या जो कुछ करे। कहीं कोई देश, कोई महान बड़ी भारी जातियाँ करोड़ों आदमी सरकारी हुक्म से उठते हैं या बैठते हैं, कहीं कानून से उठते हैं, हाँ, कानून की आवश्यकता है कि ठीक कानून हो, कानून रास्ता साफ़ करता है और जो सरकार का प्रबंध होता है उससे भी रास्ता साफ़ होता है लेकिन आखिर में उठना, बैठना, चलना, दौड़ना यह आपका काम है, सरकार का काम नहीं है, न वो कर सकती है। आपकी तरफ से दौड़े। मुझे कहीं जाना है, हो सकता है मुझमें शक्ति हो मैं चला जाऊँ वहाँ। लेकिन मैं आपको अपने कंधों पर बिठा के तो नहीं ले जा सकता, वो तो आपको जाना पड़ेगा अपनी शक्ति से और इसी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों, आदमियों को जाना है।

मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ अभी कुछ जगजीवन राम जी⁸² ने भी कहा कि यह आवाज़ मेरे कानों में मुझे अच्छी नहीं लगती है। जब कोई कहे कि हम तो पिछड़े हुए हैं, हम तो गिरे हुए हैं, हमारी सहायता करो, यह अच्छी आवाज़ नहीं है, यह ध्वनि अच्छी नहीं है। ध्वनि होती है कि हम आगे हैं, और, और भी आगे रहेंगे, हमारा सिर ऊँचा है, कौन नीचा कर सकता है। हम आगे जायेंगे दौड़ के अपनी हिम्मत से, ऐसी आवाज़ उठानी चाहिए कि, आवाज़ें उठनी चाहिए कि हम पिछड़े हैं, मदद करो आ के। जब-जब कोई जाति बहुत बुढ़िया हो जाती है, जब उसकी शक्ति नहीं रहती, जब उसके खून में गर्मी नहीं रहती, अपाहिज हो जाती है, तब मदद माँगती है औरों से,

कोई जीवित जाति, जीवित व्यक्ति, जीवित लोग, जीवित देश औरों की मदद पे चलता है कि अपने दम से। अपने गुरूर से, अपनी शान से, अपनी हिम्मत से। यह आप सोचें।

तो यह जो युग आया हमारे सामने ये नया युग है, कुछ दुनिया के सामने है, कुछ हमारे सामने इस युग को आप समझें। क्योंकि इस युग में नए-नए परदे खोले हैं। और, और देश भी उससे लाभ उठा रहे हैं, कुछ नहीं उठा रहे हैं। और नए युग में कदम बढ़ा रहे हैं। और इस नए युग में इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि हमें वह रास्ता दिखता है जिस रास्ते पर चलके सारे देश के रहने वालों का भला हो। लेकिन कौन चले उस रास्ते पर आप चलें और आप चलें, हम सब चलें, अपने परिश्रम से चलें, अपनी मेहनत से चलें, तभी वहाँ पहुँचेंगे। परिश्रम, जितना परिश्रम कोई करेगा, कोई देश, उतना लाभ उसको मिलेगा, दूसरे के परिश्रम से उसको लाभ नहीं मिलेगा। बात आप समझ लें। तो जहाँ परिश्रम है वहाँ देश दुनिया में बढ़े हैं, जहाँ आरामतलबी है, नहीं करते हैं, वह पिछड़ गए हैं।

तो हमारे लिए इस समय परिश्रम करने पर इस देश में, लेकिन परिश्रम करना किसी और के लिए नहीं वो तो बुरा होता है, वो तो दासता हो जाती है, गुलामी होती है कि हम परिश्रम करें किसी और के लिए, किसी देश के लिए, किसी व्यक्ति के लिए। लेकिन जब हम परिश्रम करते हैं अपनी भलाई के लिए, अपने देश की भलाई के लिए तब वो बुरा परिश्रम नहीं होता। उससे हमें लाभ होता है और और देश को लाभ होता है।

तो आजकल हमारे देश में ये नए-नए चित्र नज़र आते हैं, दिखते हैं भविष्य के, जिसके लिए हम परिश्रम करते हैं, क्योंकि हमें सोचना पड़े कि हम क्या करें? तो कुछ न कुछ अपने सामने भविष्य का नक्शा लाना होता है, किस तरफ हम जाएँ? किस रास्ते पर जाएँ? कैसा भविष्य का चित्र हम बनाएँ? तो इसकी तरफ हम जाएँ। क्योंकि अगर हम छोड़ दें हरेक को, जो चाहे करें। तो उसमें तो कोई भविष्य का चित्र नहीं बनता। इसलिए यह जो आप सुनते हैं योजना बनाना, प्लानिंग कमीशन इत्यादि आप सुनते हैं, वो क्या है? वो यह है कि अपने मन में कुछ भविष्य का चित्र बनाया और फिर उपाय ढूँढ़ें कैसे वहाँ पहुँचे हैं? इसको प्लानिंग कमीशन कहते हैं, योजना की कमेटी कहते हैं। पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई थी उसने पहले पांच बरस की, फिर दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई थी उसके अब तीन बरस हो गए हैं, दूसरी योजना को और अभी से हम तीसरी का सोच रहे हैं। इसीलिए कि जो भविष्य हमारे मन में है वो कैसे जाएंगे? उस भविष्य में तो बहुत बातें हैं, लेकिन विशेषकर जो चंद बातें हैं उसको हमें करना ही है। वो बातें हैं क्या? कि हमारे देश में हरेक पुरुष-स्त्री खुशहाल हों, दरिद्रता यहाँ से निकल जाए, और अपने परिश्रम से, अपने काम से वो तरक्की कर सके। हरेक को बराबर का मौका मिले बढ़ने का, ऊँच-नीच निकल जाए, ऊँच-नीच निकल जाए मैंने आपसे कहा। लेकिन कुछ न कुछ ऊँच-नीच तो रहती है। ऊँच-नीच इस बात की, एक तगड़ा आदमी, एक दुर्बल है। एक परिश्रमी है, एक नहीं परिश्रम करा, फर्क होगा, जो परिश्रम करता है उसको लाभ मिलना चाहिए, जो मेहनत करता है, काम करता है उसको लाभ मिलना चाहिए।

लेकिन मौका सब को बराबर मिलना चाहिए, यह हमने करना है। और देश को हर तरह से बढ़ाना है। मैं इसमें तो नहीं जाता। इस समय आपके सामने क्योंकि लम्बी कहानी है यह, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आप सोचें कि आप और हम और हम सब मिल के सारे इस महान देश

भारत में आजकल हम किस तरफ़ यात्रा कर रहे हैं? किधर जाना है हमें? आपको गोहाटी शहर का कोई प्रश्न हो, आपके आसाम प्रदेश का कोई प्रश्न हो, ठीक है उसको हल करें। लेकिन सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न सारे भारत का है। अगर आप कुछ हैं और मैं कुछ हूँ तो इसलिए नहीं कि मैं इलाहाबाद में रहता हूँ, उत्तर प्रदेश में रहता हूँ या आप यहाँ आसाम प्रदेश में रहते हैं। इसलिए कि आप और मैं इस भारत में रहते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक हैं, इसमें हमारी शान है, इसलिए कुछ हमारा आदर है, इसलिए कुछ हमारी शक्ति है। और जिस समय आप इसको भूल जाएँ कि आपका पहला कर्तव्य है भारत के लिए है। और, और आप कहें कि भाई मैं तो बिहारी हूँ, मैं बंगाली हूँ, मैं उत्तर-प्रदेश का हूँ, मैं मद्रासी हूँ, मैं आसामी हूँ। जहाँ यह आप पहले सोचने लगते हैं तो वहाँ आप गिर गए न आपने आसाम की सेवा की, न आने भारत की सेवा की। याद रखिए, क्योंकि इन बातों की चर्चा अक्सर मैं सुनता हूँ सब देशों में कुछ अपने यहाँ, कि कुछ हम पुरानी दीवारों के बाहर नहीं निकल सके। दीवारें बना ली हमारी, एक कुएँ का मेढक होता है वो कुएँ ही में रहता है, वो समुद्र में कहाँ पहुँच सकता है। हमें पहुँचना है समुद्र में, हमें समुद्र को अपनाना है, और बढ़ना है और फैलना है संसार में। तो कैसे फैलें? अगर हमारा मन एक चार दीवारी में बँध के बैठ जाता है कि हम तो यहीं रहेंगे, यहाँ से बाहर नहीं जायेंगे, यहाँ किसी को आने नहीं देंगे, इसीलिए तो हमारा देश गिरा। गिरा क्यों हमारा देश? आखिर अगर इतिहास आप पढ़ें, वह इतिहास आपको बताता है कि भारत कितना बड़ा देश था, यहाँ कितनी जिसकी संसार में चर्चा थी और धनी भी किसी क़दर देश था, यहाँ की कलाएँ वगैरह प्रसिद्ध थीं, यहाँ के विचार प्रसिद्ध थे, यहाँ का दर्शन प्रसिद्ध था। क्योंकि गिरे, बड़े-बड़े राजा महापुरुष यहाँ हुए हैं क्यों गिरा, इसलिए कि हमारे विचारों की, इसलिए कि हमारे समाज ने हमने दीवारें बनायी। इसलिए कि हमने, हमारे यहाँ जात-पात बहुत फैलाया, यह इस जाति का है, वह उस जाति का है, इधर विवाह करो, उधर खाना खाओ, इसको न छुओ, सारा हमारा समय तो कट गया उसी में, कि हम किससे विवाह करें किस के साथ खाना खायें, किसके साथ रहें, कहाँ रहें। कोई जाति बढ़ सकती है सारी उसकी शक्ति इसमें सिर्फ़ हो जाए। हाँ, लम्बे 2 टीके आप लगा लीजिए, चोटी निकाल लीजिए सिर पर आपको मुबारक हो। आप कर सकते हैं, मेरी क्या हानि होती है उससे, लेकिन दुनिया में कोई और बातें भी विचार करने की होती हैं, अगर इसी पर आपने विचार किया तो दुनिया आगे बढ़ जाती है, आप पिछड़ जाते हैं, यही सारा हुआ था।

एक समय था, आज नहीं, चार हज़ार बरस हुए जब भारत के लोग, भारत की कलाएँ, भारत की भाषा यानि संस्कृत, भारत का धर्म, भारत का दर्शन, ले-लेके अनेक देशों में गए, दूर-दूर तक गए, एशिया के क़रीब-क़रीब सभी देशों में पहुँचे। महान देश है, चीन है, जापान है, इंडोनेशिया है, बर्मा है, सिलौन है, इंडो-चायना है उधर, और इधर भी पश्चिमी एशिया की तरफ़ और एशिया के बाहर भी भारत की दूर पहुँची, फौजें नहीं, भारत के प्रेम में दूर पहुँचे हमारी संस्कृति को ले के, हमारी भाषा को ले के, हमारे धर्म को ले के, बौद्ध धर्म को ले के और उनका वहाँ आदर हुआ, स्वागत हुआ। और हमारे देश का नाम वहाँ प्रसिद्ध हो गया। तो एक समय तो इसी तरह से जाते थे वहाँ, और बाहर के लोग यहाँ आते थे। आप पढ़ें पुराणों में कहानियाँ पढ़ें, कितनी लम्बी-लम्बी यात्राओं की कहानियाँ हैं और पढ़ें आप, फिर कौन समय आया?

दूसरा समय, जब यह जातियाँ कास्ट-सिस्टम इतना बढ़ गया कि साहब अगर आप कहीं जाएँ बाहर तो आप जाति से निकाल दिए जायेंगे। अगर आप किसी दूसरे की बिरादरी में खाना खाएँ तो जाति से निकाल दिए जायेंगे। अगर, अगर आप भारत के बाहर जाएँ काला-पानी जाओ कहीं तो फिर जाति में आ ही नहीं सकते। सोचिए, जिस जाति की ऐसी आदतें हो जाएँ, सिवाए इसके कि वो गिरे और क्या हो सकता है उस जाति का। दुर्बल हो के गिरे, मूर्ख हो के गिरे। दुनिया बढ़ती जा रही है आगे, तरह-तरह की कलाएँ, कलें और हम बैठे हुए हैं कि अगर हम पानी में नाव पर बैठ के इधर से उधर जाएँ तो हमारी जाति निकल जाएगी, अगर कहीं हमें एक- जो जिस ढँग से हम खाना खाते हैं, हमें दूसरे ढँग का मिला तो फिर अशुद्ध हो जायेगा। कैसे ऐसी जाति बढ़ सकती है? और आप क्या, और लोग वहाँ एवरेस्ट जो बड़ा पहाड़ है हिमालय का। वहाँ आप अपनी रसोई ले के जाएँ, अगर एवरिस्ट पर चढ़ना चाहें। सोचो, बड़े-बड़े काम हैं, लोग जाते हैं समुद्र पार उन्होंने तलाश किया ढूँढा, हज़ारों मील भय के खतरे में बढ़े। वो बढ़ते हैं, आजकल हमारे भी लोग बढ़ रहे हैं कैसे, वहाँ वो जहाँ-जहाँ जाते हैं माउण्ट एवरेस्ट पर चढ़ें और कंचन जंगा पर तो अपने रसोई को बाँध के ले जाएँ तब चढ़ेंगे। आप विचार कीजिए कि हम कहाँ फँस गए? कैसे हम अपने बंधनों में फँस गए कैसे अपने विचारों को रस्सियों से बाँध दिया कि इधर-उधर नहीं जा सकें, कैसे अपने शरीर को एक कैदी कर लिया कि शरीर बाहर जाए तो बिरादरी से निकल जाएंगे।

यह कास्ट और बिरादरी का और जात-पात की भयंकर बातें हमारे देश में हुईं। धर्म के नाम से, धर्म को भी गिराया और देश को भी गिराया। इसलिए देश गिरा और दुनिया बढ़ गयी। और दुनिया में विज्ञान आया, विज्ञान से नई-नई शक्तियाँ उनके पास आई, उन्होंने प्रकृति को पहचाना, नेचर को पहचाना, नेचर से बड़ी-बड़ी शक्तियाँ पकड़ी, जिससे रेल चली, हवाई जहाज़ चला, समुद्री जहाज़ चला, बिजली आई और क्या-क्या शक्तियाँ हैं और बड़े-बड़े हथियार आए, फ़ौज की शक्ति बढ़ी, उस फ़ौज को ले जाके उन्होंने और दुनिया को फूटह किया अपने कब्जे में लाए, यह सब बातें हुईं। क्योंकि नयी-नयी शक्ति उनके पास आयी। कैसे अँग्रेज़ आए थे यहाँ? मुट्ठी भर आदमियों ने आके इस महान देश पर कब्ज़ा किया? पहली बात तो यह कि उनमें दम था, हममें दम नहीं रहा था। थोड़े से आदमियों में दम होता है तो करोड़ों दम के आदमियों से अधिक होते हैं। दम था उनमें कि 15000 मील खतरे में आके, समुद्र पार होके यहाँ पहुँचे। हम अपने देश के बाहर जाने में डरते थे कि हम तो बिरादरी से निकाल दिए जायेंगे। उनकी बिरादरी कोई थी नहीं इस ढँग की, कोई जात-पात नहीं थी, वो आप समुन्दर पार करके, भय और खतरे का सामना करके, हिम्मत से आए। और, इसलिए कि एक तो उनमें दम था और दूसरे उनके पास नए हथियार थे, विज्ञान के नए हथियार। हम ये समझे थे कि अब कोई नई बात दुनिया में नहीं सीखनी है, क्योंकि जितनी बातें सीखनी थी हमारे पुरखे सीख चुके। अब हमें खाली रटे हुए सबक दोहराने हैं, कोई नई बात नहीं सीखनी। पिछड़ गए, दुनिया आगे बढ़ गई।

खैर यह तो पुराना इतिहास है भारत का, आज का इतिहास क्या है? सवाल तो हमारे और आपके सामने यह है कि हमें आज क्या करना है? खाली पुराने गाने गाने हैं या आजकल की नई-नई दुनिया को देख के कुछ आगे बढ़ना है, प्रकृति को देख के उसको अपने काबू में लाना

है, उससे काम लेना है। और आसमान को भी ललकार देनी है कि हम तुम्हारा मुकाबला करेंगे, हम तुम से डरते नहीं है चाहे भूकम्प आए, चाहे कुछ आए। तो इस तरह से जो जाति देखती है, चलती है, आगे बढ़ती है, वो बढ़ती है आगे। जो हाथ पर हाथ रख के बैठे लोगों से हाथ फैलाते हैं माँगने के लिए और नारे उठा के समझते हैं कि दुनिया बदल जाएगी तो वो धोखे में हैं।

इसलिए इस समय, इस ज़माने में हमारे सामने, भारत के सामने यह बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं और दुनिया की आँखें हैं भारत की तरफ़, और सारे संसार की आँखें हैं भारत की तरफ़ देखने को कि कैसे इन प्रश्नों का उत्तर हम क्या देते हैं? हमसे मतलब खाली आप और मैं नहीं, लेकिन सब लोग हम मिल के उत्तर कैसे देते हैं? और उन प्रश्नों का उत्तर शब्दों में नहीं होता है, शब्दों का उत्तर तो बड़ा सरल है, आसान है। हम कह दें कि हम यह करेंगे। जैसे, मैं शब्द कह रहा हूँ वो तो खाली शब्द तो सभी कह सकते हैं लेकिन जीवन के प्रश्नों का उत्तर शब्दों से नहीं होता, परिश्रम से होता है, बुद्धि से होता है काम से होता है, काम कर के दिखाएँ। अगर कुछ दुनिया में हमारी तरफ़ निगाहें हैं आँखें आती हैं संसार में और वो प्रश्न हमसे करते हैं, क्यों? क्योंकि इसलिए कि उन्होंने देखा कि पिछले बारह बरस में जब से स्वराज्य आया, हमारे देश में कोलाहल है, एक हम बड़ी कोशिश कर रहे हैं, हम विचार सोचते हैं, कोशिश करते हैं बढ़ाने की, चाहे वो खेती में हो, चाहे उद्योग-धंधों में, इंडस्ट्री में हो, वो एक चारो तरफ़ बढ़ने की और विशेषकर विज्ञान को हम लाएँ यहाँ, विज्ञान लाएँ। क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान से चलती है, विज्ञान विज्ञान को न लो तो हम पिछड़े पड़े रहते हैं, दुर्बल हैं, हमारी फ़ौज दुर्बल हो जाती है। अगर विज्ञान को हम नहीं लें तो हमारे देश पर कोई हमला करे तो हम उससे कैसे लड़ें? लाठी से लड़ें या तीर-कमान से लड़ें, किस से लड़ें? ज़ाहिर है आजकल तीर-कमान से कोई नहीं लड़ता है, आजकल हवाई जहाज़ से लड़ते हैं आजकल तोप, बंदूक से लड़ते हैं आजकल न जाने क्या-क्या, कौन से भयंकर शस्त्र बने हैं, उनसे लड़ते हैं उसमें तो आप नहीं कहेंगे, लेकिन और जीवन के हमारे कामों में आप अभी तक पड़े हैं उसी लाठी के, तीर-कमान के, बैलगाड़ी के ज़माने में। बैलगाड़ी मुकाबला नहीं कर सकती मोटर का। मोटी बात है, बैलगाड़ी अपनी जगह अच्छी चीज़ है, मैं बैलगाड़ी का कोई विरोधी नहीं हूँ लेकिन यह आपको समझना है कि समय बदल गया ओर हमें मुकाबला करना है।

हमारे आपके आसाम की सीमा पर, सरहद पर नई-नई बातें हुई हैं, नई-नई बातें हैं जिनके लपेट में भारत के लिए ख़तरा है, भय है, ख़तरा है। तो उस ख़तरे से, हम ख़तरे से बचाने के लिए, भय से बचाने के लिए अपने देश को हम क्या प्रबंध करें? कैसे सोचें आप, हम जा के वहाँ एक कुछ लोगों को भेज दें तीर-कमान दे के या लाठी ले के क्या करने को? ज़ाहिर है उससे कुछ होगा नहीं। हमें आजकल के विज्ञान से लाभ उठा के उसकी शक्तियों से लाभ उठा के जो कुछ करना है करेंगे हम। तभी तो आजकल की शक्तियाँ आएँगी। तो अगर हम कुछ लड़ाई लड़ने के लिए और सीमा पर रक्षा करने के लिए करें तो हम अपने देश के अंदर की लड़ाई जो है यानि देश की हमारी क्या लड़ाई है? देश के अंदर हमारी लड़ाई है दरिद्रता से, ग़रीबी से, बेरोजगारी से, इन बातों से है। क्योंकि आपस में तो हमें लड़ना नहीं है तो फिर इन बातों को हम कैसे दूर करें? कैसे हम देश से ग़रीबी दूर करें? तभी उसी तरह से न, कि विज्ञान

से नई बातें चीज़ के हम करें। अगर नहीं वो करते तो फिर हम वैसे ही रहेंगे जैसे हैं।

तो यह बड़े प्रश्न हमारे सामने आए। जैसे हमारा देश आज़ाद हुआ और यह आप पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि सुना करते हैं और कुछ आप जानते भी हैं। वो यही कोशिश है, ढूँढ़ है कि किस तरह से हम इस काम को करें? बहुत दुगुना, चौगुना किया है हमारे किसानों ने औरों ने नहीं अगर हमारे देश में जितना इस समय पैदा होता है धान पैदा होता है, गेहूँ इत्यादि सामान उसको हम थोड़े बरसों में दुगुना कर दें, चार पाँच बरस में तो हमारी बड़ी जीत होगी, बड़ी जीत होगी और फिर हमें कोई रोक नहीं सकता है। क्योंकि उससे एक तो हमारी शक्ति बढ़ी, दूसरे वो जो बच जाएगा हमारे पास खाने पीने के बाद उसके एवज़ में हम बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने यहाँ बना सकते हैं।

तो फिर दोनों तरफ़ से हम तरक्की करते हैं न। खेती में तरक्की करते हैं, कारख़ाने बनाने में, रोज़गार देने में हमारे नौजवानों को और उद्योग धंधों में और कितनी और बातों में तभी होगा जब हम अपने देश में धन पैदा करें। धन क्या होता है? धन चाँदी सोना नहीं है, धन रुपया पैसा नहीं है, यह सब व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं, यह सब कारोबार को सरल करने की चीज़ें हैं। धन होता है, जो मनुष्य अपनी शक्ति से नई चीज़ पैदा करे काम की चीज़। आप ज़मीन से पैदा करते हैं। गल्ला पैदा करें, धन पैदा करें वो धन है, नई चीज़ आपने पैदा की, चाहे कुछ पैदा करें। आप उद्योग धंधे में, कारख़ाने में कोई चीज़ आपने पैदा की, चाहे कुछ पैदा करें। आप उद्योग धंधे में, कारख़ाने में कोई चीज़ पैदा करें बनाएँ वो धन है, नई चीज़ हुई किसी की और जेब से धन नहीं आया। हमारे साहूकार भाई हैं, अब हमारे साहूकार भाई की जेब में धन आए तो वो नया धन नहीं है। एक की जेब से दूसरे की जेब में गया वो तो नया धन नहीं पैदा हुआ। लेकिन ज़मीन से पैदा हुआ, किसी और की जेब का नहीं है, वो नया धन पैदा हुआ, कारख़ाने से पैदा हुआ तो नया धन हुआ। तो जितना अधिक धन कोई देश पैदा करता है उतना ही धनी होता है। अमरीका धनी है, अँग्रेज़ों का देश धनी है, रूस धनी है होता जाता है, क्यों? इसलिए कि अपने परिश्रम से वो कारख़ानों से उद्योग धंधों से और ज़मीन से अधिक धन सामान पैदा करते हैं, वो सामान धन हो जाता है। तो वो हमारे सामने भी प्रश्न यह है कि हम कैसे अधिक से अधिक सामान पैदा करेंगे? अपनी ज़मीन से, भूमि से और और कारख़ानों से। भूमि जितनी है, वो तो है उसमें काम भी होता है। खाली जितना हम पैदा करते हैं वो कम है, जितना आप एक एकड़ में पैदा करते हैं उसका दुगुना-चौगुना और देशों में एक एकड़ में पैदा होता है। ठी नहीं है न, हमें भी दुगुना-चौगुना करना है, यह आवश्यक बात है, कारख़ाने हमारे यहाँ बहुत नहीं है अभी, बढ़ते जाते हैं बड़े-बड़े, आएंगे और जितने आए उतना ही लोगों को काम मिलेगा, उतनी ही हम धन पैदा करेंगे देश में यह बात तो हमें करनी है।

अब, कारख़ाने पैदा करेंगे और खेती से करेंगे कैसे? कि आजकल के विज्ञान की बातों की समझ कर। इसलिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि भारत में पढ़ाई-लिखाई अधिक हो। क्योंकि पढ़ने लिखने से समझते हैं, कोई लड़का-लड़की भारत में नहीं होना चाहिए, जिसको स्कूल पक्के तौर से स्कूल में पढ़ाई नहीं हो और जो उसमें अच्छे हों वह कॉलेज में और आगे जा के बढ़ें। इसका प्रबंध करें। अब यह प्रश्न इतना बड़ा है कि एकदम से हो नहीं सकता, उसमें समय लगता है, बरस लगते हैं, बरसों लगते हैं। क्योंकि चालीस करोड़ आदमी यहाँ हैं, रहते हैं।

लेकिन यह होगा, होता जाता है। अब भी आप समझो कि आजकल हमारे स्कूल कॉलेज में हमारे भारत में कोई एक सवा चार करोड़ बच्चे पढ़ रहे हैं। तो यह तरीके हैं और बढ़ने के, अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, सहयोग से।

मैंने आपसे कहा खेती में हमें अब नए ढंग रखने हैं, पुराने ढंग तो हैं ही हमारे आपके पास। मैं आपसे पूछूँ कि आप में जो कोई खेती में कृषक हों, किसान हों कि आपके पास हल कैसा है? अगर आप मुझ से कहें कि जैसा पुराना रहा। वही तो फिर मैं आपसे कहूँ कि फिर आप पुराने ही रहेंगे कभी आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे। आजकल अच्छे हल मिलते हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन का मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, 40-50 रुपये का अच्छा हल मिले जिससे आप जितना पैदा करते हैं उससे दुगुना हो जाए। क्योंकि वो ज़्यादा अच्छा खोदे, ज़मीन को उलटाए। और, और भी थोड़े से औज़ार हैं खेती के लिए, जिसके बहुत अधिक दाम नहीं है दस रुपए, पाँच रुपए, पन्द्रह रुपए ऐसे दाम हैं। उसका प्रयोग आप करें तो आपकी फ़ौरन खेती से आमदनी दुगुनी होने लगेगी, एकदम से जल्दी से जल्दी। और बातें हैं, कई बातें हैं जो कि अच्छा किसान जानता है, कैसे मेंढ बनायें, बंडिंग बनाए। जिसको कहते हैं करें - पानी वह नहीं आए, अच्छी खाद हो फर्टिलाइजर हो, मैन्चोरिंग हो, अच्छी चीज़ हो चुन के लगायें अच्छी तरह से, प्रेम से भूमि की सेवा करें, अक़ल से तो अवश्य बढ़ेगा, यह हमने देखा है बढ़ने का। यह तो एक तरह की बात हुई।

उधर कारख़ानों की बातें, चर्चा होती है आसाम में भी यह कि बड़े कारख़ाने लाओ, यह क्यों नहीं होता और वो क्यों नहीं होता? कोई बड़ा कारख़ाना आसाम में आए, बड़ी खुशी की बात है। लेकिन कौन आपको रोकता है छोटे कारख़ाने शुरू करने से यहाँ? आप बैठे रहेंगे हाथ पर हाथ रखके कि अब आसमान से बड़ी-बड़ी चिमनियाँ आएँ, जम जाएँ और बड़ी-बड़ी और बातें आएँ, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। इस तरह से हमेशा इंतज़ार करना कि और लोग कुछ कर दें। जो लोग, आसाम को चाहिए कि कोशिश करे बड़े भी हों कारख़ाने, छोटे भी। लेकिन छोटे जहाँ तक बन पड़े करें वो कोशिश तो हो रही है। मैं नहीं कहता कि नहीं और यह भी मैं जानता हूँ यहाँ कठिनाइयाँ क्या है? आजकल, कारख़ाने बहुत नहीं बन सकते जब तक कि बिजली की शक्ति न हो, इलेक्ट्रिक पॉवर न हो, नहीं हो सकते। क्योंकि बिजली की या किसी की शक्ति और पॉवर से होती है और पॉवर की यहाँ बहुत कमी है।

अभी कल इन पहाड़ों में शिलाँग के पास मैंने और एक शुभ काम में मैंने हिस्सा लिया। यह पॉवर हाउस बनेगा, वहाँ पानी जमा होगा नदी का एक और शायद जगह का नाम भूल गया उमियन, ओमियन, जो कुछ नाम हो उसका।⁸³ ख़ैर, मतलब तो यह है बड़ी सुंदर जगह थी और वहाँ एक मैंने बटन दबाया और बड़े ज़ोर से एक तोप की तरह से आवाज़ हुई, कोई ब्लास्ट हुआ, पत्थर फटा। अब यहाँ बनेगा साल दो साल में जो कुछ समय लगे मैं नहीं जानता। अब उसमें से यह एक बिजली की शक्ति निकलेगी, बनाई जायेगी, पानी को रोक के, पानी की धारा के ज़ोर से, पानी जो बहेगा उससे पहिए चलेंगे और पहिए चल-चल के बिजली पैदा करेंगे

83. See item 28.

और बिजली जमाकर के तारों से भेजी जायेगी जो कारखाने चलाए तब कुछ। यह कोई जादू थोड़ी है, वह सब जानते हैं, हरेक जानता है तो यह बड़ी अच्छी बात हुई क्योंकि उस पाँवर से कारखाने वगैरह बन सकते हैं, बनेंगे और काम होगा, यह एक बड़ा काम हुआ।

दूसरा यह जिसलिए हम आप आज जमा हुए हैं इस ब्रह्मपुत्र पर- पुल के लिए, एक बड़ी-बड़ी जो कि उत्तर-दक्षिण आसाम को जोड़ती है, भारत से जोड़ती है आसाम को, और एक बहुत बड़ा काम है। यों तो है ही वो अच्छा काम आपको उससे लाभ होगा। लेकिन एक माने में जितना आपको लाभ होगा उतना ही ज्यादा बड़ा काम है, मानसिक रूप से और भी बड़ा काम है, इतने रोज़ से और कठिन काम है। नहीं तो पहले हो गया होता, काफी कठिन काम है एक पुल बनाना। तो यह भी एक बहुत बड़ा काम है जिससे अवश्य आसाम की उन्नति होगी, तरक्की होगी।

तीसरे आप जानते हैं यहाँ वो तेल के कारखाने सफाई के बनने वाले हैं। तेल निकल रहा है पहले कुछ निकला था अब अधिक निकल रहा है। तो यह बड़ी-बड़ी चीज़ें हैं जो कि जड़ और बुनियाद डालती हैं आसाम की उन्नति के लिए और बढ़ेगा आसाम। उसमें मुझे कोई सदेह नहीं है, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग आसाम के रहने वाले उसके बढ़ने में पूरी शक्ति लगाएँ, उससे और तेज़ी से बढ़ेगा, कम शक्ति लगाइए तो कम तेज़ी से बढ़ेगा, बढ़ेगा तो अवश्य वो और सुंदर जगह है।

और अब एक और बात आप याद रखें, पुराने अँग्रेज़ी ज़माने में आसाम भारत का एक पूर्वी कोना गिना जाता था जिसको उन्हें बहुत फ़िक्र नहीं थी क्योंकि दूर था। एक तो यह दूसरे यह कि जो हमारी सीमा है, वो सीमा के उस पार तिब्बत है और तिब्बत एक शांत देश था जिससे कोई किसी को भय नहीं था, कुछ फ़िक्र नहीं थी। इसलिए जो हमारी प्रान्त, प्रान्तीय सीमा थी, आसाम की सीमा थी जो कि खाली आसाम की सीमा नहीं थी। लेकिन जो कि भारत की सीमा भी थी वह एक शांत सीमा थी, कोई किसी को फ़िक्र नहीं थी उसकी। तो इसलिए अँग्रेज़ी राज्य में इधर कोई ध्यान नहीं होता था, अधिक कुछ भी हो। अब एक तो यों भी जब स्वराज्य आया तो हमें सारे देश की उन्नति चाहिए बराबर से तो हमें आसाम की तरफ़ ध्यान देना ही पड़ा और आसाम की उन्नति हो रही है। दूसरे यह कि अब जो आसाम की सीमा है वो एक ज़रा जाग उठी है और गड़बड़ की सीमा हो गयी है और कुछ उसमें ख़तरे हैं, भय हैं, यह सब बातें हो गयी हैं। तब यह और भी आवश्यक हो गया कि आसाम की सीमा की पूरी रक्षा हो। भारत की सीमा है, कोई देश अपनी सीमा को असुरक्षित छोड़ दे, तो यह उसकी एक, उसके लिए अच्छा नहीं है। देश की रक्षा होनी चाहिए और देश की रक्षा में लोग जान भी देते हैं। जब किसी देश के रहने वाले अपने देश की रक्षा के लिए अपनी जान देने को नहीं तैयार हैं तब वो देश की जान निकल गई, अलग है उनकी जान, अपनी बचा लें, देश की जान निकल जाती है। वही देश रहता है जिसके बचाने के लिए उसके लोग अपनी जान देने को तैयार हों। और जान देने के अलावा परिश्रम करने को, मेहनत करने को, उसकी सेवा करने को, सभी देश रहता है। और वो देश पर कोई आक्रमण नहीं कर सकता। कोई दुश्मन अगर उस देश में जानदार लोग हों जो मरना पसंद करें, लेकिन दासता नहीं पसंद करते, उसको कोई ले नहीं सकता है।

खैर मैं नहीं कहता कि इस समय कोई आपको जान देने का प्रश्न है, मैं नहीं आपसे कह रहा हूँ, देश की सीमा के लिए। लेकिन मैं आपसे यह सिद्धान्त बता रहा हूँ कि हम स्वराज्य और स्वाधीनता की चर्चा करते हैं। स्वराज्य और स्वाधीनता हमेशा उस देश की जनता से उसकी एक मांग रहती है, तुम तैयार हो कि नहीं हमारी रक्षा करने के लिए? और जहाँ हम तैयार नहीं रहे, जहाँ भूल हो गयी, जहाँ आलसी हो गए वो देश गिर गया। इसलिए अब आजकल के समय पर यह कोई भूल जाए अपनी सीमा को या अपनी रक्षा करना, वो देश के साथ गढ़ारी करता है। कभी नहीं भूलना चाहिए उसे और इस समय जो प्रश्न उठे हैं हमारी सीमा पर इधर काफ़ी गहरे हैं, काफ़ी नाजुक है, काफ़ी उनसे बँधी हुई हैं बातें, जिससे हमारे देश को हानि पहुँच सके। अगर हम होशियार न रहें, तैयार न रहें हर वक़्त और उसके लिए बलिदान देने के लिए हममें शक्ति न हो। यह बड़े प्रश्न हैं और तैयार हमें होना है सभी को और आपको होना है और हर वक़्त रहना है तैयार। और सबसे बड़ी तैयार के माने यह नहीं है कि आप एक बंदूक या तलवार ले के ऊपर नीचे टहलिए। समय आने पर सब कुछ होता है, तैयार के माने हैं कि जो आपका कर्तव्य है उसको आप पक्के तौर से करें। फ़ौज में कर्तव्य करने वाले फ़ौज में करें, अगर आपका कर्तव्य है कि आप भी कुछ फ़ौजी हालत सीखें, सिपाही बनें तो आप बनें, आपके नौजवान जो हैं। क्योंकि आजकल देश की रक्षा में फ़ौज नहीं करती है, फ़ौज तो एक अंग होता है एक अंग है उसका रक्षा करने को। हरेक पुरुष और स्त्री को एक तरह से सिपाही उसका बनना पड़ता है आजकल की दुनिया में। जब कोई ख़तरा आता है देश पर, और हमारे हम पुरुष और स्त्री को सोचना है, यथा शक्ति उसको अपना कर्तव्य का पालन करना है। इसलिए लोग जा के, मैंने कहा बंदूक ले के नहीं जाते हैं, लेकिन लोग कारख़ानों में काम करें, लोग खेती में काम करें, जहाँ उनका कर्तव्य हो काम करें पक्के तौर से और समझ लें कि इस वक़्त यह उनका फ़र्ज़ है करना तब देश बचते हैं ख़तरों से।

अभी आज यहाँ आते हुए शिलाँग से वो लड़के-लड़कियों का कैम्प था एन.सी.सी. “नेशनल कैडिट कोर” वो जो हमारे स्कूल कॉलेजों में लड़के-लड़कियाँ पढ़ते हैं वो जो चुनते हैं कुछ फ़ौजी तालीम लेना वो कैडिट्स होते हैं। उनको कुछ फ़ौजी तालीम मिलती है, पढ़ने के साथ-साथ। कोई वो फ़ौज में भर्ती नहीं होती बाद में कुछ थोड़े से हो जाएँ। तो वहीं मैं था, सालाना उनका एक कैम्प रहा, शिविर और वहाँ कुछ चार-पाँच हज़ार लड़के-लड़कियाँ जमा थे। तो उनको देखकर मेरा दिल बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ। क्योंकि वही तो हमारे कल का भारत हैं, भविष्य हैं हमारा। अच्छे सुंदर तगड़े-लड़के लड़कियाँ आसाम के थे उधर अनीपुर, त्रिपुरा के भी थे, त्रिपुरा के थे, नेफा के थे, सब मिल के वहाँ थे। तो मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ क्योंकि तगड़े थे, अच्छे थे जिन पर भरोसा हो सकता है। जैसे 4-5 हज़ार वहाँ थे मैं तो चाहता हूँ लाखों-करोड़ों देश में हों ऐसे। सब ठीक है और खाली देश की सेवा आप उससे न करें बल्कि आप अपनी सेवा करें क्योंकि जो लड़के-लड़कियाँ थे वहाँ उसको करके शारीरिक और मानसिक शक्ति बढ़ गयी उनकी। अच्छे लोग थे, तगड़े कमर टूटे हुए नहीं थे जैसे आमतौर से चलते थे- यों, यों करके। यहाँ तो सीधा खड़ा होना भी मुश्किल हो गया है, लोगों को तनके रहना, सिर ऊँचा रहना। आप देखें, आप सड़क पर देखें, कितने लोग सीधे चलते हैं? कितने की कमर झुकी होती है अजीब हाल है। कुछ तो इन बातों को हमें निकालना है। और सारी तो यह समय है

और इसमें हमें सभी को अपना कर्तव्य करना है और यह बातें जैसे पहले हुआ करती थीं। पहले कहीं-कहीं हड़ताल हो गयी, जो मालिक है उन्होंने बंद कर दिया अपना कारखाना दबाव डालने के लिए। यह बातें ठीक नहीं हैं, जो कोई झगड़ा हो उसका फैसला होना चाहिए, इंसाफ़ से। लेकिन सबसे हानिकारक यह बात है कि हम देश का काम कर रहे हैं। कोई काम हो, चाहे यह पुल बनाना हो, चाहे कारखाना हो, चाहे खेती हो उसको रोक देना है, देश का धन कम हो जाता है, यह हमें बढ़ाना है, यह तो ग़लत बात है, तो यह बातें नहीं होनी चाहिए।

तो यह सब मैंने आपको इधर उधर की बातें बताईं। क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें कि आजकल हमारे देश के सामने क्या बातें हैं, क्या प्रश्न हैं, दुनिया के सामने क्या हैं? क्योंकि दुनिया आजकल की एटम-बम की दुनिया है जोकि एक बम से बड़े-बड़े शहर उड़ जाते हैं, गायब हो जाएँ, आजकल की दुनिया है कि लोग सोच रहे हैं चाँद के पास जाने के लिए या और भी तारों के पास जाने के लिए, यह तो आजकल की दुनिया में हैं। अगर हम बजाए इसके कि हम अपने छोटे-मोटे झगड़ों में पड़े रहें तो न हम रहेंगे कहीं, न हमारा देश रहेगा। इसलिए हमें जागना है, उठना है, होशियार होना है, तैयार होना है हमेशा और आगे बढ़ना है। आगे कैसे बढ़ना, आगे जभी बढ़ें न, जब हममें एकता हो, मज़बूती हो और यह प्रान्तीयता को हम अलग करें हम। मैंने आपसे कहा जाति-भेद को अलग करें, भाषा के झगड़े होते हैं उनको अलग करें, अपनी-अपनी भाषा रखें, अच्छा है, कौन उसमें लड़ाई क्या है? भाषा रखें, अपनी संस्कृति रखें, सब कुछ रखें। लेकिन हमेशा याद रखें कि हमारे देश का और हमारा एक बड़ा इम्तेहान है, परीक्षा हो रही है दुनिया के सामने कि तगड़े लोग हैं कि ढीले हैं। ये अपने ऊपर भरोसा करते हैं, अपने पैरों, टाँगों पे खड़े होते हैं या औरों के सामने हाथ फैलाया करते हैं कैसे लोग हैं? बुद्धि है इनमें कि नहीं है, शक्ति है कि नहीं है। यह प्रश्न है इसका जवाब देना है। तो मुझे तो इसमें पूरा इत्मीनान है, विश्वास है कि हमारे देश का जवाब पक्का है और अच्छा होगा। इसमें कोई शक नहीं। लेकिन जभी होगा न, जब हम पूरी शक्ति से काम करें, कोशिश करें और अपने दिल से डर निकाल दें। डर एक फिज़ूल चीज़ है, मुझे बिल्कुल अच्छा नहीं लगता है। कभी-कभी लोग कहते हैं वहाँ से आएँ, कहीं से, कालिमपोंग से आए, कि कालिमपोंग में लोग बड़े डरे हुए बैठे हुए हैं जाने कौन उन पर हमला कर दे? तो मुझे तो बड़ा क्रोध आता है जब कोई मुझसे कहता है कि वो डरा हुआ है। मेरा तो यह जी चाहता है जवाब देने को कि आप किसी और देश में जाइए वहाँ ज़्यादा आराम से रहेंगे, यहाँ से जाइए, हटिये, हमें डरपोकों की यहाँ जगह नहीं है, डरे हुए रहते हैं, बातें करते डर जाते हैं, पटाखा सूटे डर जाते हैं, अजीब हालत है देश की ज़रा आवाज़ ज़ोर से कर दो तो दिल धबराने लगता है, दिल बैठने लगता है, इस तरह से कोई देश बढ़ते हैं। यह बातें आप छोड़िए, कोई डर की और भय की बात नहीं अभय निर्भय होके हम आगे बढ़ेंगे और परिश्रम करके और जो भी ख़तरा आगे उसका सामना करेंगे वगैरह डरे, धबराये। देश बढ़ते हैं जभी जब उनके सामने ख़तरे आते हैं। याद रखो इतिहास अगर आप पढ़ें तो आप पढ़ेंगे कि जो देश ज़्यादा आरामतलबी हो गये, जो देश परिश्रमी नहीं रहे और ज़रा ज़्यादा आराम उन्हें होने लगा वो देश दुर्बल हो गए, वो देश गिर गए, जिन देशों के सामने बड़े-बड़े इम्तेहान आए, कठिन समस्याएँ आई और उसका उन्होंने मुकाबला किया उससे उस देश की शक्ति बढ़ी और उन्नति हुई। तो किसी कठिन समस्या से

हमें डरना नहीं है, यह तो हमारा एक इम्तेहान है, हमारी ताकत बढ़ाने के लिए?

खैर, आप पूछें कि इन सब बातों से ब्रह्मपुत्र के पुल से क्या मतलब? बड़ा मतलब है, क्योंकि ब्रह्मपुत्र का पुल जो है वो एक आवश्यक चीज़ है। आवश्यक चीज़ है, आप के लिए ठीक है। लेकिन मेरी आँखों में तो वो एक बड़ी भारी कड़ी है हमारे देश की शक्ति बढ़ाने की, आपकी, आसाम की शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए, आसाम की उन्नति के लिए और जो चीज़ हमारे देश की उन्नति करती है वो एक हमें मज़बूत करती है। इसलिए यह तो निशानी मेरी आँखों में है, निशानी भारत के आगे बढ़ने की। जैसे कल मैंने वहाँ हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक-वर्क्स शुरू हुए थे शिलाँग के पास, वो भी एक निशानी थी आसाम की तरक्की की, उन्नति की, आसाम में बिजली की शक्ति आने की। आज यह दूसरे किस्म की शक्ति है और एक कड़ी जोड़ने के लिए उत्तर दक्षिण आसाम और, और इस आसाम के हिस्से को सारे भारत से। तो यह बड़ी बातें हैं। तो जो लोग, यह कठिन बातें हैं इस पुल की आप जानते हैं, तो जो लोग इसको बना रहे हैं रेल के इंजीनियर लोग या और इंजीनियर और विशेषकर जो अपना परिश्रम इसमें लगाए हुए हैं, बहुत सारे हमारे कार्यकर्ता लोग उनको मैं बधाई देता हूँ कि अच्छे काम में लगे हैं। और उनको यह सोचना चाहिए खाली यह नहीं कि एक रोज़ की मजबूरी के लिए उस काम को करते हैं, वो तो करते ही हैं लेकिन यह समझना चाहिए कि हम एक बड़े काम में लगे हैं, एक बड़े काम में हम भी एक उसका हिस्सा हैं, हम एक पार्टनर हैं उसके काम में और जब कोई आदमी एक बड़े काम में लगता है तो उस बड़े काम के साथ वो भी बड़ा हो जाता है, जो छोटे काम में लगा रहता है वो छोटे रह जाते हैं। तो इसलिए खाली यह चार पैसे और या चार रुपये या चार सौ रुपये कमाने की बात नहीं है। लेकिन एक बड़े ऐतिहासिक काम में लगना है जिससे आसाम का, देश का, हमारा भला होगा। और उस काम में, जब आप भले काम में लगते हैं, तो आपकी भलाई होगी और आसाम की। और विशेषकर उन लोगों की जिनके परिश्रम से यह बन रहा है। तो उनको, उनको मैं अपनी शुभकामनाएँ देता हूँ और आप सभी को यहाँ की गोहाटी और आस-पास के रहने वाले आपको मुबारक हो यह एक बड़ा काम जो आज हो रहा है। जयहिन्द!

अब बैठे रहिये काम होने वाला है। अभी तो आपने मुझे सुना है। बैठे रहिए। मैं वहाँ जाऊँगा और तब काम खत्म होगा। बस -मिनट और। मेरे वहाँ जाने से पहले आप 3 बार मेरे साथ जयहिन्द कहिए।

जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द। बैठे रहिए, बैठे रहिए अभी।

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

You have heard many of our colleagues speak just now and everyone is agreed that this is an auspicious day. What is the hallmark of an auspicious day? Some people go to astrologers to ask about auspicious days for weddings and this and that. Others gaze at the stars or count beads. But the real mark of an

auspicious day is when an auspicious task is done. It is the task which makes a day auspicious and not the other way round. If someone were to consult the stars and select an auspicious day to do something evil, that day would be inauspicious, no matter what the calendars say. So the two things are closely linked. I agree that today is an auspicious day because you are carrying out an auspicious task, in a sense, a historic task.

As I sit here looking at you and turn around to gaze at the Brahmaputra, I remember that for millions of years, the Brahmaputra has flowed here and thousands of years of history and legends are linked with its waves. I wonder at the innumerable events that this mighty river has been a witness to, the havoc that it has wrought in its path and the enormous benefits that its waters have conferred upon the people. The waters of the Brahmaputra are ever-changing and flow into the ocean. Therefore, at no time is the Brahmaputra unchanging or stagnant.

The life of a country is like the waters of a river, with people who come and go but the country goes on and retains a personality of its own. Though the population keeps changing, the life of a nation is linked together in various ways. As you know, the great rivers in India are held in great respect and some people even worship the Ganga, Yamuna, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, Sindhu (which flowed in India earlier) and the Brahmaputra. I do not think anything should be worshipped. But we must respect the great rivers because it is on their banks that great civilizations and cultures, cities, and so on, have sprung up. If you read our ancient texts, you will find how the ancient nomads came upon the Ganges and were filled with happiness.

I was born on the banks of the Ganga and Yamuna, but I worship neither of them. However, I love both of them and have found memories of my childhood days spent at the confluence of the two great rivers. I am always conscious of the great role played by the Brahmaputra and the other big rivers in India's history. The Brahmaputra has its source near Mansarovar, in Tibet, and flows down in torrents through the mountain ravines into Assam, and flows on.

All these thoughts come to me as I sit here. Yet another picture of more recent years comes to mind, a picture of an enraged Brahmaputra, swollen with flood-waters, in Assam, as it swallowed up Dibrugarh almost in front of my eyes. The Brahmaputra has an enormous appetite, and houses and trees were swallowed up in no time at all. Nothing could stop the Brahmaputra. Efforts were made to control the river later and in spite of great floods, Dibrugarh has remained safe. This has been made possible by the effort of human beings, not by consulting astrologers. Please remember, especially those of you who are young, that you must always look ahead to the future. What is going to be the future of India and the world? The future is not written in the stars and the skies

or in the panchangs, and no puja or chanting of mantras can change the future. It is in the hands and minds of the people and our future can be moulded by our own efforts. The future is in our hands, and if we have the strength of mind and body, we can mould it any way we like.

So, the question that arises is whether the people of India, our young boys and girls particularly, have the strength to mould the future or whether they are capable only of depending on others. We can ask for anything but it is a different matter whether anybody is prepared to give or not. There are however some people who are capable of moulding their own future and do not seek the help of anyone. They are the people who have a firm determination and resolution to mould their future by their own strength instead of passing resolutions or passing on the responsibility to others.

Therefore, the question that India faces today is what we are going to do today, tomorrow or in the future to make our country great. We cannot achieve very much by roaming the streets, shouting slogans or making demands. Those days are gone. We are living in different times, when people are trying to reach the Moon, when science is transforming the entire world, and things which were undreamt of, are becoming realities. What is being done by one individual can surely be done by others and similarly, we can do in India what other countries are doing. We can do so if we make the effort and by maintaining friendly relations with everyone, by having confidence in ourselves and working hard. There is only one way of achieving anything in the world and that is by hard work. The harder we work, the greater will be our achievement. Those who depend on others to do the work for them become backward. We will be making a big mistake if we think that we can progress by depending on other countries. It is only through hard work, self-reliance and self-confidence that a country can advance.

So, this is the lesson that we will have to learn, for it is a great testing time for us. It is a crucial and difficult time, but at the same time it is a good thing for us too, because new avenues are opening out and the millions of people in India are getting innumerable opportunities to progress. There are difficulties in the path no doubt, and huge pitfalls before us. We can stumble and fall. But the opportunities are also there.

In a sense, it can be said that when India was under British rule, we did not have to face the complex questions that we are facing today. At that time, the only problem before us was to somehow remove the British from here and achieve swaraj for the country. The other problems were dealt with by the foreign rulers. The moment British rule was removed, the responsibility devolved upon us and we can no longer try to shift it onto someone else. The complex problems like poverty and the uplift of the country, which had been kept suppressed

during the British rule, have cropped up now. It is now up to us to find a solution to these complex problems of uplifting the millions of people in India, of ensuring that every single individual in India may become prosperous and enjoy ample opportunities for progress. These are very big tasks which cannot be achieved by counting beads, but only by hard work, unity and intelligence. Just imagine, can there be a bigger problem than that of moulding the future of forty crore persons? India is a very large chunk of the world. So the problem is a gigantic one. Who is to undertake the task of uplifting forty crore? It cannot be done by somebody from outside, or by the government in Delhi, or in Assam. Please do not be under the misapprehension that an outsider can help you. You can progress if you have the courage to stand on your own feet. If you lack that, no matter how hard a government may try, you will not go very far. How can a great country, with a population of millions of people, be uplifted by a fiat from the government, or by passing a law? It is true that laws pave the way and the government can be instrumental in making the administrative arrangements. But ultimately, the effort has to be made by the people. The government cannot do that for you. If I wish to go somewhere, I will do so on my own strength. I cannot take anyone along on my shoulders. India's millions will have to go ahead on their own steam.

I am stressing this because I do not like the idea of anyone saying that they are backward or that they should be helped. Shri Jagjivan Ramji⁸⁴ also pointed this out just now. It is not a desirable attitude of mind. Our attitude should be one of bold resolve and pride in ourselves and the self-confidence to go ahead. It is not a nice thing to beseech others for help. It is only when a race becomes old, emaciated and weak or lacks strength that it asks for help from others. A strong and vibrant people go ahead on their own steam, with pride and courage. You must always remember this.

It is very important that you should understand the new age that we are living in. All sorts of new mysteries are being unravelled in this age, and many nations are taking advantage of this. They are the ones who are on the march, and there is no doubt about it that we must also do the same. But after all it is you and I, and all of us in India, who will have to do so. We will have to work very hard if we are to reach our goal. The harder a country works, the greater will be the benefit to it. It is the countries which are hard working which have progressed very far. The others have become backward.

So hard work is extremely important for India just now. We will be working hard for our own country, not for others. Working for others is a form of slavery.

84. See fn 82 in this section.

But when we work for our own good and for the good of the country, it is a good thing for the country and the people will benefit by it.

These are the various pictures that are before us, of the future for which we are toiling. When we are trying to evolve a plan about what needs to be done, we have to keep before us a picture of the future, and the path we need to travel to reach our goal. If we let everyone do as they like, the future will not be quite clear. You must have heard about the Planning Commission. It has been established in order to draw up a plan for the future and to find ways to implement it. This is what the Planning Commission does. They had drawn up the Five Year Plans. Three years of the Second Plan have gone by, and now we are thinking of the Third Plan. There are many things which make up the future, but it is essential to do some things for the future of the country. We have to ensure that the people of India become well-off, poverty is eradicated from here so that the people can work hard and progress. It is essential to provide equal opportunities for everyone and to eliminate the disparity between the haves and the have nots. Some disparities of height, strength and intelligence are bound to be there. Some are tall, some short, strong or lean, hard-working or lazy. It must be ensured that the people who work hard reap the fruit of their labour.

Everyone must get equal opportunities and we must try to progress in every direction. I will not go into that, for it is a long story. But I want you to understand clearly the direction in which we are trying to move in this country. The problems of Gauhati or Assam are no doubt important. But ultimately the biggest problem is of India. You and I count for something, not because I live in Allahabad or Uttar Pradesh, or that you live in Assam, but because we live in India and are citizens of this country. This is why we are held in respect and our strength lies in it. The moment you forget the fact that your first duty is towards India, and attach more importance to the fact that you are a Bihari, Bengali, Madrasi or Assamese, you will do great harm to yourselves and the country.

Please remember this, because I often hear discussions in India and abroad that we have not been able to get out of the old rut. We have built impregnable walls around us, and are content to live like frogs in a well. How can we hope to spread our wings and roam all over the world if our minds and hearts are shackled? This is how India went down in the past and became backward. History tells us that India was once a great nation, rich and wealthy, famed for her culture, arts, religion, philosophy and thoughts all over the world. There were great kings and great men born in this soil. And yet India declined and became backward because our society became rigidly shackled by all sorts of customs and taboos against intermarriage, eating and what not and the caste system had a stranglehold on the people. Most of our time was frittered away in

kitchen rituals. People are welcome to wear long hair or vermillion on the forehead, for they are harmless. But there must be an awareness of what is happening in the rest of the world. We became backward because we failed to keep in step.

There was a time long ago, nearly four thousand years ago, when people from India had gone with their arts and literature and philosophy and religion, to far-flung corners of the world. They went to almost all the countries of Asia, like China, Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Indo-China and West Asia, and so on. They went as messengers of peace and love, with our culture, Buddhism and literature, which were received with great respect everywhere. India became famous in all those countries. Similarly, scholars and travellers used to come here from other countries. You read tales of long travels in the Puranas.

Then came a time when the caste system became so rigid that foreign travel meant becoming an outcaste. People had to perform penance if they went out of India. You can imagine what the condition of such a nation would be. We became ignorant and backward. The world advanced while we were frittering away our energies on meaningless rituals and taboos. How could we have grown or progressed? You cannot climb the Everest if you have to carry your own kitchen utensils with you. It is people who fearlessly cross the seas in search of adventures who can advance. You can imagine how our kitchen rituals and taboos have restricted and limited our progress. We were imprisoned and shackled in mind and body and lived in fear of becoming outcastes.

It was the caste system and religion which were responsible for the terrible things that were done in the country and as a result, both the country and our religion suffered. India retreated while the world advanced in science. They learnt to unravel the mysteries of nature and harnessed its great sources of energy to their own use. This led to the invention of trains, aeroplanes, steamships, etc. Then electricity was discovered, new weapons were invented with which these nations conferred the rest of the world.

How did the British come to India? How did a handful of them manage to capture this great country of ours? It was because, first of all, they had a spirit of adventure, which we lacked. A handful of spirited men are better than millions of lifeless people. They had the spirit of adventure and daring and so they crossed the oceans and travelled 15,000 miles to come here while we in India dared not go out of the country for fear of becoming outcastes. Secondly, the British had new weapons, scientific weapons. We were not interested in learning anything new, and steeped in our pride and conceit, we were content to repeat lessons learnt by rote. So, we became backward while the rest of the world went ahead.

Well, this is the ancient history of India. We must now look to the future

and decide whether we are going to continue to repeat lessons by rote or learn something from this new age that we are living in. If we want to progress, we will have to control the sources of energy hidden in nature and challenge the skies fearlessly. Those who sit idle or depend on others to help them can get nowhere.

Today we are facing real problems in India and the eyes of the world are focussed upon us to see how we solve them. That means not a few individuals but the whole country. It is not a question of providing the answers in words for that would be easy. The complex questions in life cannot be answered in words but by hard work, intelligence and effort.

The attention of the world has been caught by the tremendous effort that we are putting in since freedom came, ten or twelve years ago. There is a concerted effort to progress in agriculture, industries, science and in every direction. We are making rapid strides in the field of science, because the world today functions on science. If we do not advance in the field of science, we will remain backward militarily and otherwise. How can we fight against an enemy if we do not possess modern, scientific weapons? In this age of aeroplanes and lethal weapons of war, we cannot hope to fight with bows and arrows. We cannot continue to live in the age of bullock carts. But everyone must understand quite clearly that times have changed and we must learn to change with the times.

All kinds of developments have occurred on our borders in Assam, which pose a great threat to India. How are we going to combat that danger, that threat? Can we fight our enemies with bows and arrows or lathis? It is obvious that we can achieve something only by taking advantage of the developments in science and the forces of nature. Within the country, we have to fight a battle against poverty and unemployment, not against one another. We can eradicate poverty only by adopting the new techniques and inventions of modern science and technology. If we fail to do that, we will remain poor.

These are the big questions which have come before us ever since we became free. You must have heard of the Five Year Plans, and so on. The effort is to increase production in every sphere. In other countries, the farmers produce four times as much as we do in India. If we can even double the production per acre within the next few years, we can achieve a big victory. Nobody can stop us after that because, for one thing, our strength will increase, and secondly, the surplus can be utilised to put up industries in the country.

In this way, we will ensure progress in directions, agriculture as well as industries, and provide employment to millions of our unemployed youth. We will be able to produce wealth in the country in various ways. What is wealth? It is not gold, silver or currency notes which facilitate trade. Wealth is something

that man produces himself from land or industries, from factories and so on. Goods produced like this are new wealth and not merely transferred from one pocket to another. Moneylenders do not produce new wealth. It is only the goods which are produced by the people which constitute the real wealth of the country. So, the more a country produces, the richer will it become. The countries of the West, like the United States, England or the Soviet Union are rich because they produce an enormous amount of goods, in various ways. Therefore, it is essential for us also to increase production in the country, from our land and industries and by other methods. In other countries, the average yield per acre is nearly four times as much as what it is in India, though the soil is very good and the farmers work very hard. This is not right. We should also try to increase production. We are not very advanced industrially yet. But it will gradually happen and we will be able to provide employment to more and more people by opening up new avenues of working. All this is possible only by grasping the modern techniques of science.

So, the spread of education is very essential because that teaches the boys and girls a scientific bent of mind. There should not be a single boy or girl in India who does not get proper school education. The brighter ones can then go in for higher education. Arrangements have to be made for all this. The problem is so enormous that it cannot be done immediately. It will take time. It may take years. But we are doing it gradually. Even now there are nearly 40,187,000 boys and girls in schools and colleges. These are the various ways in which we can progress, by hard work, cooperation and effort.

I have told you that we must adopt modern techniques of agriculture. The farmers are using outdated methods till this day. If we continue to use the ancient ploughs we will never be able to progress. Nowadays very good ploughs are available for as little as forty to fifty rupees. I am not talking of big machines. These ploughs will enable you to double the production immediately, because they dig deeper. There are other small agricultural implements which do not cost very much but enable the farmers to increase production very quickly. Then by adopting small techniques like bunding, to preserve the rain water for irrigation, using good fertilizer and manure, selecting good seeds and looking after the land lovingly and intelligently, we can increase production very easily.

Now as far as industries are concerned, there is great demand from all the states, including Assam, for setting up industries. But what prevents you from setting up small industries? Why should you sit and wait for huge industries to come up? I cannot understand this mentality of waiting for others to come and help. The people must also participate in this task by setting up small industries. Efforts are being made to set up heavy industries, and I am fully aware of the problems that arise. Today it is not possible to set up heavy industries without

adequate supply of electricity or some other source of power. There is great power shortage in Assam.

Yesterday I participated in an auspicious task near Shillong, where a power plant is to be built, I forget the name of the place, Umain or Umian.⁸⁵ Well, anyhow, I pressed a button and a huge rock was blasted. Now in another year or two, the project will be completed and hydro-electric power will be generated by harnessing the energy from the river waters. The electricity produced will be transmitted through wires to factories. There is no magic about all this. Everyone knows about these things. This is one thing.

The second thing for which we are assembled here today, the inauguration of the Brahmaputra Bridge, is something that links Assam to the rest of India. This is a huge project and will benefit the people greatly. But in a sense, the people will benefit even more mentally and psychologically because it is a great achievement to have built such a large bridge. It adds to the self confidence of the people to have completed a difficult task successfully. It will contribute greatly to the progress of Assam.

Thirdly, as you know, oil has been discovered in Assam and now oil refineries are being set up. These are some of the things which are laying the foundations of Assam's progress. I have no doubt about it that Assam will progress. But I want that the people of Assam should contribute to it with all their might. If you do not participate in this task, Assam will certainly progress but at a much slower rate. Assam is a very beautiful State.

Now you must bear in mind the fact that during the days of British rule, Assam was regarded as the eastern tip of India; and the British did not pay very much attention to it because it was far away. Secondly, Tibet lay on the other side of the border, and since it was a peaceful country, there was no threat or danger to India's security. The borders of Assam which constitute India's borders also were peaceful and nobody bothered very much about them. Now, with the coming of freedom, our main goal is to ensure the progress of all the states of India equally and so greater attention has been paid to the development of Assam. Moreover, the borders have become more turbulent and there is a threat to the country's security. Therefore, it becomes even more essential to guard our borders carefully. No nation can afford to be slack in its defence of the borders. People have to be prepared to give up their lives in the defence of their country. If a people are incapable of defending their country, they become lifeless. Only those countries where the people are brave and prepared to lay down their lives for their country can survive. The people must be prepared to

85. See fn 83 in this section.

serve their nation and to work hard for it. Nobody can dare to lift a finger against a country where the people are prepared to lay down their lives for their freedom and abhor slavery.

Well, I do not say that it is a question of anyone laying down their lives at the moment. I am just talking about the general principles. We are always talking about freedom. But it is entirely dependent on the state of preparedness of the people to be able to defend their country and freedom. If we are unprepared or become slack, the country will fall. Therefore in these times, those who forget the need to be vigilant are traitors to their country. The problems that arise on the borders are delicate and critical. The safety of the nation is closely linked to the state of our preparedness to defend and lay down our lives for the country and to constant vigilance. These are crucial issues and we must be constantly prepared. Preparedness does not mean brandishing a revolver or a sword, there is a time and a place for everything. Preparedness means doing one's duty well in every sphere of life. The armed forces are merely one aspect of a country's defence. Today every single man and woman has to, in a sense, become a soldier in the service of the country by discharging their duties well. People should go into the factories in large numbers or help in increasing agricultural production and do whatever they can in other ways to serve the country. They must understand quite clearly that their chief duty at the moment is to do their jobs well in order to protect the country from external danger.

I visited an N.C.C. Camp, the National Cadet Corps, which gives some military training to boys and girls in schools and colleges, on the way here from Shillong. This was their annual camp and about four to five thousand boys and girls were assembled. I was very happy to see them because they are the future of India. They were the bright boys and girls of Assam, Manipur, Tripura and NEFA and it was a beautiful sight to watch. They were the kind in whom we can repose our trust. I want that millions of our boys and girls should be well-trained, like the ones I saw in Shillong, with well developed minds and bodies. People are beginning to forget even to stand erect and hold their heads high. These are some of the bad habits that must be got rid of. Workers must not resort frequently to strikes, because it cuts down on production. Their justified grievances should be removed. But it is extremely harmful to the nation if the work comes to a standstill, because national wealth stops growing. This is absolutely wrong.

I have been talking at random about various things because I want you to understand the problems that confront us today in India and the world. This is the age of the atom bomb which can destroy entire cities.

This is also the age when man is trying to reach the Moon and the stars. We will have to become vigilant and be prepared, instead of frittering away our

energies in futile quarrels and squabbles amongst ourselves if we wish to progress. We must cultivate the habit of unity and get rid of provincialism, casteism and linguistic differences. Why should anyone fight over the question of language or culture? We must always bear in mind the fact that India is facing a great challenge in the world, and it is up to us to prove whether we are strong or weak and if we are capable of standing on our own feet or go around with a begging bowl. We will have to prove whether we are intelligent and strong as a people. I have full confidence that India will be able to give a good account of herself. There is no doubt about that. But that is possible only if we work hard with our entire might and root out fear from our hearts. Fear is a useless emotion. I am often told that the people of Kalimpong are living in constant fear of an attack. This annoys me very much and I wish to tell them that India has no use for such cowards who flinch at trifles. They will be better off elsewhere. How can a nation progress like this? You must root out all fear and progress fearlessly with stout hearts. We must work hard and be prepared to face any dangers that may arise. A nation grows up by dealing with crises and threats and when it faces some danger; you will read in history that the countries which become soft and pleasure-loving become weak and fall, while those who face great challenges and difficult problems become strong and advance rapidly. So we must not flinch from difficulties. It is merely a test of our strength.

Anyhow, I think you would like to know the significance of this Brahmaputra Bridge. It is extremely significant not only because it will benefit you tremendously but because, in my eyes it is a great link in the process of making India and Assam strong, of progress in Assam. For me therefore, it is a symbol of India's progress. For instance, I started the hydro-electric works project near Shillong which is yet another symbol of Assam's progress. The Brahmaputra Bridge is another link between India and Assam.

So these are big events. It is as you know a difficult task to build a bridge and has been possible by the untiring effort of the engineers and other workers. I congratulate them. They must remember that it is not merely for the wages that they work but in the process they are participating in a great national task. All of us are partners in the great task of India's progress. Those who participate in great tasks grow in stature while the others engrossed in petty affairs remain men of small stature. So this is not merely a question of earning a few rupees. You are participating in a great historical task which will benefit not only Assam but the entire country, as also all of you. I give all of you, the citizens of Assam, particularly those who live near Gauhati, my best wishes and congratulate you on the great task which has been undertaken here.

Jai Hind! Please remain seated. The function will be over when I leave.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Please remain seated.

Translation ends.]

30. To NCC Cadets: You are the New India⁸⁶

मुझे मालूम नहीं कि आप सब लड़के और लड़कियाँ मेरी हिन्दी समझेंगे कि नहीं। समझना चाहिये आप सभी को। तो कुछ मैं हिन्दी में कहूँगा और कुछ अँग्रेजी भाषा में।

मुझे खुशी है यहाँ आज आकर और आपको देखकर। क्योंकि मेरी आँखों में आप सब लड़के और लड़कियाँ भविष्य के, आइन्दा आने वाले भारत के, एक निशानी हैं। और हम सब लोग उसी भविष्य के लिए काम करते हैं, परिश्रम करते हैं कि हमारे देश का भविष्य उज्ज्वल हो, चमकता हो, शान का हो, मज़बूत हो। भविष्य बनता है देश की जनता से, देश के लोगों से जो आजकल स्कूल और कॉलेज में पढ़ेंगे, पढ़ रहे हैं, वो कल का भारत हैं। इसलिए आज के लड़के और लड़कियाँ कैसे हैं? ये आज एक बहुत आवश्यक प्रश्न हो जाता है, कैसे हैं? उनका शरीर कैसा है? वो सीधे चलते हैं या झुक के चलते हैं? तगड़े हैं या कमज़ोर हैं? उनमें डिसिप्लिन है कि नहीं है? ये तो शारीरिक बातें हैं। लेकिन उससे अधिक आवश्यक मन की और दिमाग की बातें होती हैं। उनमें वीरता है कि नहीं? वे मिलकर सहयोग से काम करना जानते हैं कि नहीं या अलग-अलग रहते हैं? ये सब बातें देश को बनाती हैं। और अगर नहीं हो तो देश दुर्बल होता है। हमारा देश बन रहा है। पुराना भारत, नया भारत होता जाता है। और आप लोग उस नये भारत के नमूने हैं, निशानी हैं। इसलिये हमारे लड़के-लड़कियों पर एक ज़िम्मेदारी है, हर समय। वो एक नये भारत के क़ाबिल हों, उसका मान बढ़ायें। और कोई ऐसी बात नहीं करें जिससे उसके माथे पर धब्बा लगे।

तो ये तो हमारी नेशनल कैडिट कोर है। ये स्कूल के लड़के और लड़कियों को मौका देती है इन बातों को सीखने का, कुछ उनमें फ़ौजीपन आ जाये। हमारा देश कोई लड़ाई लड़ना पसन्द नहीं करता, वो शान्तिप्रिय है। लेकिन कोई देश जो कमज़ोर हो जाता है, जो दुर्बल है, वो गिर जाता है। शान्ति के माने दुर्बलता नहीं है। शान्तिप्रिय होने के माने नहीं है कि तुम एक कमर झुका के चलो और एक बेजान होके, ऐसे देश गिर जाते हैं। वो शान्तिप्रिय हैं, उनमें बल होना चाहिए। तब शान्ति की सेवा कर सकते हैं, तब देश की सेवा कर सकते हैं और देश की इज़्ज़त रख सकते हैं।

ये हरेक लड़की और लड़के को सीखना है। और विशेषकर जो एन.सी.सी. में हैं, उनका तो पहला काम है इस बात को समझने का और सीखने का। और फिर जब एन.सी.सी. के काम को छोड़कर जाएँ अपने कॉलेज को। और अपने घर में जाएँ, अपने शहर में या ग्राम में

86. Speech at Digru, Assam, 10 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

जाएँ। तो वहाँ जाके उस हलके के कुछ लोग नेता हो जाएँ। नेता से मेरा मतलब नहीं बड़े अफसर हो जाएँ, लेकिन औरों की सेवा करने में नेता हों। औरों को सिखाने में नेता हों, इस तरह से हम सारे देश को मजबूत बना दें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितने लड़के-लड़कियाँ हमारे स्कूल कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं, सभी को ये मौका मिले, एन.सी.सी. में आने का और उसको सीखने का। और बल्कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि सारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ भारत भर में इन बातों को सीखें।

हमारे देश में बहुत खूबियाँ हैं, हमारी जनता में खूबियाँ हैं। लेकिन खूबियों के साथ ढील है, शारीरिक ढील, मानसिक ढील, काम करने की शक्ति में। ठीक है, इन बातों को हमें निकालना है। क्योंकि जिस देश के लोग ढीले होते हैं, उनका दिमाग चुस्त नहीं होता, उनका शरीर चुस्त नहीं होता, देश गिरने लगता है। तो ये हमें सबक सीखना है, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना है, अपने देश पर करना है, अपने भाइयों पर करना है, अपने व्यक्तिगत रूप से अपने ही ऊपर करना है, भरोसा करके आगे बढ़ना है, और निडर होके।

तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि कुछ आप इन बातों को एन.सी.सी. में सीखते हैं, और बाद में जाके औरों को भी कुछ सिखायें।

[Translation begins:

I do not know if all of you can understand Hindi. You should know Hindi. Anyhow, I will say a few words in Hindi as well as in English.

I am happy to be here in your midst today because you are the symbol of India's future to me. All our efforts today are for that future, to make it bright and shining and strong. It is the people of a country who mould a nation. The children, in schools and colleges today are India's future. So their physical and mental well-being and development are of the utmost importance. It is of vital interest to the nation whether the youth of today are physically strong and disciplined or weak and undisciplined, mentally and morally strong and brave or cowardly, whether they have the capacity to cooperate with one another or not, and so on. These are the things which go towards building a strong nation.

Today we are engaged in the task of building a new India and you are its symbols. Therefore, a great responsibility rests on your shoulders. You have to prepare yourselves to become worthy of that new India to add to her glory, to do nothing which would be a stain upon her honour.

The National Cadet Corps gives an opportunity to the boys and girls in schools to train themselves and acquire military discipline.

We are a peace-loving nation and do not wish to go to war with anyone. But a weak nation cannot survive in this world of ours. Peace does not mean weakness. Being peace-loving does not mean that we should walk with bent backs lifelessly. Those who love peace must be strong in order to serve the cause of peace, only then can they serve their country and uphold its honour.

Every boy and girl must learn this lesson. The boys and girls in the NCC in particular must understand this fully well and train themselves. Later on, when having completed their studies, they go back to their villages or cities they should become leaders in their own areas. I do not mean that they should hold high office. They must lead in the field of service of others and be an example to others. This is how we can build a strong nation. I want all our boys and girls reading in schools and colleges today to get an opportunity to join the NCC and undergo training. In fact, I want boys and girls all over India to learn these things. India has great qualities. The people of India are excellent in many ways. At the same time, there is a slackness, a mental and physical slackness, which we must get rid of. A nation of indolent and slack people cannot be mentally alert or physically strong and agile. Its downfall is inevitable. So we must learn to stand on our own feet, have confidence in ourselves and our country and to march boldly and fearlessly.

I hope you will imbibe some of these lessons in the NCC and teach others around you.

Translation ends.]

Speech in English:

Cadets of the NCC, I am happy to be here and to watch these contingents from various parts of our North East and North East border gathered here today.

I have long been interested in the N.C.C., and have watched it grow and often thought that it should grow much faster than it has done in the past. Because I believe that the kind of training that you may have in the N.C.C. is very important training for many things, and more specially for citizenship in India. Some of you after this training, I believe, go to the Army, may be to the Navy or Air Force also. How many, I do not know. Probably a small number, but I am told that they have gone to the Army and the Navy and the Air Force. That is good. But even those who do not join the defence services later as officers, even though they should in later life profit by this training and become more efficient for the service of the nation and the community.

Wherever they may go, to town or village, they should serve their community and this training and discipline and cooperative service should do them good in being leaders in their circles where they live. Because a leader is a person who knows how to serve. No man can become an efficient leader unless he knows how to serve in a disciplined way.

We want in India a disciplined people who can lead whenever opportunity comes their way. India is, as you should know, launched on the great enterprises,

on building up this country of ours to be a prosperous, disciplined, progressive and advancing country, in which every boy or girl has full opportunity of growth according to his or her ability. It is ability and hard work that we count in India, not your birth, not your caste, not anything else, except ability and hard work. Because there are other things that not only count but is other basis of your work; integrity, fearlessness.

We want a nation which has particularly three qualities. The first of them is integrity, the second, I do not know first or second, they are equally important:—fearlessness, Abhaya, as our old books told us was the first quality in a nation should be, and in the individual; and the third is hard work. Because remember that nothing great is done without hard and disciplined work, India requires hard work today from all her children, because we have got to go far in our journey and we shall only go that far as we ourselves work for.

Now the NCC I think ought to, and probably does, lay a foundation of these qualities as all your education should do. It is in the measure that we develop these qualities that we should succeed as a nation or as individuals. Do not imagine that a nation progresses by shouting, by slogans or the like. It does not matter what policy a nation may adopt, behind it must be integrity, must be fearlessness, must be hard work. Whether you are a boy or girl or man or woman, these qualities are the basic things which make national character and promote national growth.

So, think of this when you serve in the NCC, think of this tremendous adventure that is in living in India today. Because India and her people are involved in one of the most extensive and tremendous adventures in history. The adventure of all of us marching in step to the goal that we have set—marching in step by step. You march in step, you are taught to march in step, which shows a measure of cooperation and discipline and this should be symbolic of marching in step in all fields of life. Because it is through unity and discipline that a country or a community goes forward.

Once I suggested, among the many slogans that you hear, I am not very fond of too many slogans but I suggested a slogan, and that was “keep in step”; keep in step not only physically but mentally and India works, cooperate to keep in step because the great things that we have to do require that unity of effort all over India and keeping in step.

Here even in Assam many of you boys and girls come from various parts, some from the valley, some from the hill, some from the tribal area, some from near the frontier, some from Manipur and Tripura; for what I know, I do not know; all over these variegated parts of the North East Frontier region. The rich region, a beautiful region, a region full of potentialities and I have no doubt that this will grow. We can see these potentialities coming up. You can

see factories and bridges and hydro-electric work, all that are gradually coming up, but the real thing that count in a nation is not a factory, not a bridge but human beings; the man and woman; where there are good men and women, strong, stout of heart and strong of body, that nation progresses. Because it is those men and women, and boys and girls, it is the human being that counts, and if you follow the qualities of integrity, fearlessness and hard work then you can make this Assam, beautiful Assam of yours, of India, a fine prosperous country for all those who live in it. But if you are weak and if you look for help from others, you stretch out always your hands to other people to help you, then you do not make much progress. That is not the way for a nation to go ahead. An individual and a community, and a nation must be self reliant; must be hard working and industrious. So I hope, you will learn lessons.

We are a nation pledged to peace because peace is good in itself and peace is particularly essential in the world today. We have served the cause of peace to the best of our ability. But serving the cause of peace does not mean weakness, does not mean slackness, it means a constant vigilance. It means strength of will and strength of body. Because the weak are not honoured and the voice of the weak is not heard by others. It is only those who are strong and well and stout of purpose who are heard.

In my life, the bravest and the finest man I saw and adored was Mahatma Gandhi. Some of you may know his story; all of you should know it; because he is a symbol of India and because he, through his labours trained the people of India to freedom. What was he? A frail, physically frail, man but with a heart and soul full of courage and ability. [...] He could put fearlessness above all others, unbending where any principles were involved, but always friendly, always cooperative, and wishing even to make friends with those who opposed him.

We are not Mahatma Gandhiji, we are weak persons, but I hope you have learned something of his lesson and we shall not be unworthy of this great leader who came to us and led us out of our subjection into freedom. Therefore, we shall serve the cause of peace but we shall serve the cause of peace with vigilance and strength and strength of will, and in doing so we should serve the cause of our country. We shall always avoid war, but if our country's vital interest, if our country's integrity and honour and self-respect are threatened, then we should have the capacity in us to spring to arms, everyone, of us and defend that. Because no people who are not capable of that can keep their country inviolate. It is not for the weak to win the world's race, it is the strong—the strong and humble, we should have humility not pride, not to try to trample over others, but at the same time we must be strong in mind and body and should attach themselves to the big causes of their country of prejudices.

So, young men and young women of the National Cadet Corps, I give you my good wishes. I am happy to see you here, bright faces who will no doubt make good in your future life and I invite you to join this great adventure of India that is unrolling before our eyes.

Jai Hind!

31. To Subimal Dutt: Civilian-Military Tensions in Assam⁸⁷

When I was in Shillong recently,⁸⁸ I had a talk with the Governor,⁸⁹ with Shri Luthra⁹⁰ and with Major General Singh who is in command, I think, in the Tuensang. I met them together as well as separately.

2. The first impression I gathered was of the different pulls there and the civil and military authorities not seeing eye to eye. Indeed, the difference went deeper and I was even told that they were hardly on speaking terms. Probably this was exaggerated.

3. The military appeared to think that the civil authorities, and especially Luthra, were carrying on a policy of appeasement of the Nagas and that this would not be good at all. What the military would like was some strong measures to crush who had remained of the Naga movement. I have an idea, though I am not sure, that this is the view of the Army Headquarters in Delhi also.

4. Luthra, on the other hand, felt that the policy he had pursued had met with very considerable success and any marked change in it would lead to harmful results. Before Luthra's appointment, the military were almost entirely in charge. They had achieved some results no doubt, but this had not affected the revolt much. Any big scale attempt at suppressing the Nagas now would undo all the good work that had been done and giving over large numbers of them many of whom will probably join, through desperation, the hostiles. Also that the military were not used to such operations against guerilla Nagas who could move about in this mountain and forest terrain easily while our soldiers were slow in movement. The result was that the hostiles almost always escaped. All that the military could do was to destroy or burn their villages. Even when they captured or shot down some Naga, they could not distinguish between the

87. Note to the Foreign Secretary, Bangalore, 12 January 1960.

88. See item 28.

89. S.M. Shrinagesh.

90. P.N. Luthra, the Commissioner of Nagaland.

innocent and the guilty. Every innocent person's death caused strong reaction against us. Luthra, therefore, felt that we must continue with our present policy, at least for the next two or three months and see the result of the various negotiations that are going on among the Nagas as a result of the convention.⁹¹

5. Luthra told me that he had given a paper to the Governor containing some proposals of his for the future. He had not sent this to our Ministry as he thought that it would be better to deal with our Ministry through the Governor on this subject.

6. I did not see this paper. But Luthra told me that his main proposal was that one battalion of the Assam Rifles should be raised immediately. As soon as this battalion was ready for work, quite half of the present military forces in the Tuensang area could be withdrawn and replaced by the new Assam Rifles battalion. This battalion could be much more effective there in that terrain than the army people as it was quick in movement and knew the terrain well. Also their families are nearby.

7. This proposal appealed to me. As a matter of fact, as you will remember, General Thimayya⁹² has been wanting us to release a number of Army Companies or Battalions in the Naga Hills for a long time past. Luthra's proposal, therefore, should suit us. For the present this proposal is with the Governor and we should take no action about it and await the Governor's comment. I spoke to the Governor on this subject and he said that he was looking into it and he would let us have his views before long. He mentioned that this internal conflict was largely a personal matter. With a little more confidence and cooperation with each other, much of this conflict will cease. The military outlook was rather rigid and they could only think in terms of military tactics on a large scale which are used in a big way. Such tactics were not suitable there. On the other hand, Luthra had also been rather rigid and thus irritated the army officers. However, the Governor said that he would try to smooth out matters.

8. I mentioned briefly to the Home Minister⁹³ about my talks with Luthra and others and he liked Luthra's proposal.

9. I am sending this note to you for your information. For the present nothing more need be done about it.

91. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 290-291.

92. K.S. Thimayya, the Chief of Army Staff.

93. G.B. Pant.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 10 JANUARY 1960)

(iv) Bombay

32. In Bombay: Public Meeting⁹⁴

Bifurcation of Bombay
Nehru's Plea for Calm Approach
Centre Getting Bill Ready

January 2, 1960

Prime Minister Nehru told a public meeting here today that the Bill on the bifurcation of Bombay State was getting ready and that it might be sent to the Bombay Government and the State Legislature by the end of this month or early in February.

He said he could not indicate the exact date when the new States would come into being. "The date is not important. Let the bifurcation take three months or more but let us work it out in an atmosphere of love and friendship and let us make it 'pucca' and good so that there will be no bitterness or room for sorrow in the minds of the people. I want that this 'jhgada' (quarrel) be ended", he said.

Mr. Nehru was addressing a mammoth public meeting—one of the largest gatherings in recent years—at Shivaji Park, for the first time after an interval of ten years, in North Bombay, this evening. Mr. Ratilal M. Gandhi, President of R.B.C.C., presided.

In a 75-minute speech, the Prime Minister touched on several subjects from BEST strike to the Sino-Indian border dispute. In his reference to the Chinese aggression, he emphasised the importance of making India industrially strong so that she could face any danger effectively.

Mr. Nehru said that his idea was that the bifurcation issue should be settled with the fullest cooperation and goodwill of the people concerned. "You will know all the details when the Bill is published", he told the gathering. It would be discussed in the Bombay Legislature and also Parliament. "More than the date" (of bifurcation), he said, "what is necessary is that it should be considered in a cool atmosphere and in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation."

The Prime Minister said that personally he was in favour of continuing the present arrangement of the bilingual State. Under the leadership of Mr. Y.B. Chavan, the State had worked very well during the last three years. Even though he did not want to compare the administration of one State in the Union with

94. Report of speech at the Shivaji Park, Bombay, 2 January 1960. From *The Hindu*, 3 January 1960.

another, he had always held the view that the administration of Bombay State occupied a leading position in the country. His remark was greeted with prolonged applause.

Referring to Bombay City, Mr. Nehru said that it was one of the finest cities of this country and of the world. People not only from all parts of this country, but also from the outside world lived here together. He was sure that the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the City would be preserved and that people from outside coming to this city would continue to be impressed by the harmony among its people.

The Prime Minister said that he had started the new year with a very optimistic outlook, for he had complete confidence and faith in the people.

The Prime Minister was glad that the city transport strike had been called off. He, however, deplored the tendency to go on strike every now and then. It was the people who suffered ultimately, he pointed out. Public interest should be the paramount consideration, he said.

Mr. Nehru said the world was changing very rapidly and if they did not understand and change themselves according to changing times they would be repeating the same mistake the nation had committed 250 years back. Nations like Russia and America were on the forefront today only because they took full benefit of modern science and technology. No country could depend for its development on outside help.

Swatantra Party

The Prime Minister asked the people to give up old ideas which were no good in modern times. Some people, Mr. Nehru stated, were still living in the 19th century. Recently a new party, the Swatantra Party, had been formed to defend all types of freedom. This party, he said, was opposed to co-operative farming and even planning on the ground that it came in their way of freedom.

He charged the protagonists of the Swatantra Party of being selfish. Their point of view would not be acceptable even to the capitalists in America who were moving towards socialism. Referring to Indian Communists, Mr. Nehru stated that today Russia was the most peace-loving and preaching country in this world because she wanted to live in this changing world but the Indian Communists were still living in the year 1880 and following Marx, which was completely out of date. Today's problems could be solved by taking into consideration the conditions prevailing today and not by a hundred-year-old doctrine.

Mr. Nehru said that while considering the prospects for the new year, he also wanted the people to consider the developments on India's border. Two

great countries of Asia (India and China) had been exerting their utmost to make rapid progress in the field, factories and in the different ways of production of material wealth. Their methods were different, but both of them were making rapid progress.

For the first time in the thousands of years of history, he said the two nations were facing each other across the border “not in a spirit of friendship but with other feelings. It is an adverse development in the history of the two countries. A new page has been turned and it is not known how long this phase will continue, what further turn it will take or what will happen in the future”, he said.

In this context, Mr. Nehru said some people criticised the Government and asked why our army was not sent to the border and why the Chinese were not thrown back from our territory. Mr. Nehru said that no great nation could think of settling these matters by resorting to force.

Mr. Nehru said that he welcomed this enthusiasm of the people but at the same time he would point out to them that what was required to meet the situation was not full-throated slogans but an awareness of the great urgency in which the country had to build up its industrial strength to back up its defence forces.

“The two things go together”, he said. The U.S.A. and Russia were considered the strongest nations because both the countries had build up a great industrial potential with the help of their highly developed science and technology.

Mr. Nehru said that he had no objection to criticism being levelled against the Government. But it went against the interest of the country when some people tried to weaken it in the eyes of the world by ill-conceived and harmful criticism, giving the impression to the outside world that India was a disunited and weak nation. “It is not correct to run down ourselves”, he said.

Mr. Nehru said that people “who talked only of weakness” should visit the Agricultural Fair at Delhi to see how tremendously India had progressed in the different directions.⁹⁵

The Prime Minister referred in this connection to writings in a journal and said that the writings in that journal two days ago and on some occasions previously had been brought to his notice. He said the journal had been writing something about conflicts and quarrels within our armed forces and between the Defence Minister and the senior Generals. “There is not even an iota of truth in these writings. They are all absolutely lies”, he said.

Mr. Nehru regretted that at a time when everything should be done to increase our defence strength such false reports should be published. “It is not

95. See SWJN/SS/57/pp. 221-226.

a correct thing to do", he said.

The Prime Minister categorically denied reports of any differences or conflicts within the army or between the Defence Minister and the Generals, and declared that the defence forces were stronger and more united now than at any time since Independence. "In the three years after Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon took over the Defence portfolio, the defence forces have become more united and stronger", he declared amidst loud cheers.

33. To A.P. Siqueira: Explaining Policy to Congress Members⁹⁶

Bangalore

January 14, 1960

Dear Shri Siqueira,

I have received your letter of the 7th January. I am glad to know of the work you are doing among the younger Congress workers in the North Bombay areas. This work should include an explanation of the policy and programmes of the Congress. The resolutions which are likely to be passed at the Bangalore Session should be explained to them. It would be desirable for this group of young people to take up some positive constructive work in those areas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Andhra Pradesh

34. To Morarji Desai: Auditing the Nizam's Trust⁹⁷

Bangalore

January 17, 1960

My dear Morarji,

You will remember my mentioning to you that the Nizam had asked the Auditor General to arrange for the examination and audit of his Trust accounts. On reading his letter again, I find that the terms of compromise in the Supreme Court were as follows:

96. Letter to a Congressman from Bombay.

97. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance.

(i) That an Auditor nominated by the Auditor General of India shall, at the expense of the Trust, audit the accounts of the Trust from the inception and shall have full powers to inquire into the truth, the propriety and the legality of the various transactions and investments of the Trustees.

(ii) That the Trustees and the Secretary shall give all information on matters relating to the Trust and its management or administration as may be required by the Advocate General, Andhra Pradesh.

Thus the Auditor General has to nominate an auditor or a firm of Chartered Accountants. Care has to be taken now that a very reliable firm of Chartered Accountants is nominated for this purpose.⁹⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To Mir Osman Ali: Mukarram Jah for Nizam's Trust⁹⁹

Bangalore
January 17, 1960

My dear friend,

I have received your letter of the 9th January. I am glad to learn that the interim stay order has been made absolute on agreed terms.

In your letter you mention that your grandson, Mukarram Jah, might be associated with the Trust and that there is a vacancy which he can fill.¹⁰⁰ I think it will serve Mukarram well if Your Exalted Highness appointed him to this vacancy in the Trust. I have a high opinion of his ability and integrity and it will also be desirable for him to have some substantial work to do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

98. See item 35 and SWJN/SS/57/p. 113.

99. Letter to the Nizam of Hyderabad.

100. See item 34 and SWJN/SS/57/p. 113.

36. At Ernakulam: Electioneering¹⁰¹

I have come here for a brief afternoon visit to Ernakulam to give you my good wishes for the election that is coming soon [Applause].¹⁰² Some few days ago I read in a newspaper that Mr Namboodiripad who was Chief Minister of Kerala till some time back expressing an opinion that it would not be quite proper for me to come here in this election campaign. Well, I did not understand that, because it is obvious that belonging as I do with all my mind and heart to the Congress organisation, I wish the Congress organisation success, in any election that it may run [Applause]. It is true, that I do not normally take part in by-elections. It is only in general elections that I have taken a good deal of part. Well, in Kerala today you are having a general election and as it happened that I was not very far from Kerala, I was at Bangalore for the Congress Session, it seemed to me to be right and proper that I should at least pay you a brief visit to convey my good wishes to you.

I am not very much concerned with individuals, although in elections or at other times the right individuals should be chosen. What I am concerned with, is the broad policies which we should pursue in India and obviously in Kerala, and because I believe that the broad policies followed by the Congress are right, are desirable for the whole of India as well as Kerala, that when an election takes place, naturally my sympathies go out to those candidates who represent those broad policies.

Some of these policies are what I consider national policies which rise above the party level, and every party or almost every party, should adopt them. Suppose we have a five year plan for the development, for the growth of India, well, I do not say that the five year plan is the monopoly of the Congress; it is a nation's plan in which I would expect all people to join even though they might differ in minor matters. So also in the broad policies that we pursue in our external affairs, I believe that that is a right national policy and not so much a party policy, and I would expect almost everyone of the great majority of our people to accept and work for that policy.

It is true that sometimes we have not been able to give full effect to the policies we have laid down, either Congress or the Government. Sometimes we have failed, sometimes circumstances have been against us. That is true,

101. Speech, 18 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

102. Mid-term elections in Kerala was held on 1 February 1960.

The Blitzkreig

*Pandit Nehru made a flying visit to Kerala in connection with
the Congress's election campaign*

[Left bottom : E.M.S. Namboodiripad, holding flag]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 26 JANUARY 1960)

but that does not mean that the broad policy is wrong and we must not mix up those two things, because we are not working for something today or the day after; we are working for the future of India, and that is a very big thing, and that future includes all of you who are sitting here, and me and millions and millions of people all over India. It is in so far as that policy is good for India as a whole, good for the hundreds of millions of people, that we should adopt it.

I suppose that all of you sitting here and, perhaps, most people in Kerala today, are vastly excited about the election that is coming. That happens always at election time and it is right that people should take interest in the election, but they should take more interest in the policies for which parties or individuals stand and not merely consider it a personal matter to vote for this man or that man. And because I feel and indeed, I am convinced, that for India today the broad policies laid down by the Congress are right, are suitable, and are for the benefit of India—that is why I told them and that is why I go about from place to place in India explaining these policies, because I want you to understand them. What is the good of my being the Prime Minister of India? It is a very heavy burden, a very exacting burden, it is a very honourable burden too—honourable because it means that the people of India, or a great majority of them, have some faith in me or have some affection for me, and I am deeply

beholden to them. But that brings a great responsibility in me. But the important thing is not my being the Prime Minister or not; but that certain major policies should be followed by India.

It is, I do not say, that those policies are the monopoly of the Congress. Others also accept them in a big measure or in a somewhat lesser measure; all those who accept those broad policies we would be glad to cooperate with, because we do not look upon this and ought not look upon this as a narrow party matter—something bigger than a party. But remember this, that the Congress itself is a peculiar organisation. It is a party running elections but it has always been something more than a party. In the days of our struggle for Independence it was more than a party, it was a national movement, and, even afterwards, it has not ceased only to be a national movement although inevitably it has to function also as a party.

And so, we welcome the cooperation of others also, whether in the field, in active work in the field, or the countryside or anywhere or in our assemblies or parliaments. We welcome their cooperation because we are after [all] fulfilling a certain objective and we do not work, we do not wish to work in a narrow party-way, but where there are major differences in approach, whether in internal matters or external affairs, then obviously it becomes difficult to cooperate to that extent.

I would like to tell you something about these major policies for which the Congress and our Government stands; and I would like you to think in that aspect more than the negative aspect which often comes up during the elections. But, at the same time, I think I should be quite frank with you—we are always to be frank with each other. And here in the elections in Kerala, as you will know, the conflict is with the Communist Party candidates here. Now why do we oppose the Communist Party candidates here?

We oppose them here in these elections or elsewhere in other elections because I feel that the policies which they pursue and which they have in mind are not right, some of them; I don't say that every policy is wrong. Inevitably in many matters people have one view, all parties have. But I do feel that the basic approach of the Communist Party in India is not a right one and will not be conducive to the growth of India, to the advancement of the Indian people, but will lead as it has sometimes led, as in the past, to conflicts and troubles which come in the way of advance.

I want you to remember that in our external policy, we are friends of all countries, we are friends of the greatest Communist country in the world—that is the Soviet Union, or Russia. We do not wish to interfere in their ways. We admire many things that they have done. And I hope they don't wish to interfere with us. I believe that is so. So it is not any quarrel between our country and a

Communist country outside. It is true that at the present moment, great difficulties have arisen between us and another Communist country, that is, China. Great difficulties and great dangers have arisen on our frontiers, and we are much concerned about them, and that has cast a special responsibility upon us, a new responsibility to be vigilant on our frontiers and to protect the integrity of India.

In a few days time, in fact, day after tomorrow, we shall welcome in New Delhi the President of the Soviet Union, Marshal Voroshilov and his companions, and we shall give him a warm welcome, not because of Communism, but because Russia, the Soviet Union are friendly countries to us. They have helped us and we have cooperated in many ways in other fields. Therefore we must look, we must not mix up in our minds, this question of our friendship and cooperation with other countries, and the situation that faces us in India.

Let us consider the problems of India. Indeed problems. We may be sometimes right—we meaning the Congress—and sometimes wrong. We may make mistakes occasionally as we do, but I believe that even in our rights and wrongs, and even in our mistakes we represent the Indian people; where they fail, we fail. The Congress in the past has grown out of Indian soil. It has long roots not only in its own history, which is seventy-five years old, because the Congress started seventy-five years ago, but even in the more distant past of India. So, the Congress spread in India because it represented what I would venture to call the “ethos” of the Indian people. I do not know how this is going to be translated by my friend¹⁰³ into Malayalam [Laughter] because it is a Greek word really. Anyhow, the spirit, the essential mind and thought and spirit of the Indian people, not fully, but it was in their direction. That was why it succeeded in the great struggle for independence, that was why vast masses of people joined its ranks, suffered, laboured, and succeeded. Now I do believe that in the great march that is before us in India, this great pilgrimage to higher levels of existence, higher standards, welfare state, “socialistic pattern of society”, and all that. It is a march in which four hundred million people have to join, not a few. That is the true basis of our advance, [it] will have to be in line with what I called the “ethos” of the Indian people.

This word “ethos” might not very correctly be translated or referred to as nationalism. But nationalism is a narrower word. “Ethos” includes nationalism and is deeper. Now I believe that the country—when I talk about nationalism and “ethos”, I do not mean that we should stick to all our traditional ways because if we do so, we shall never progress. We have to learn, learn from the

103. P. Govinda Menon.

West, learn from science, learn from technology and learn a hundred new things, which we failed to learn in the past, and that is why we became backward. But learning all this which is very essential for us, we must still hold on to what I called this "ethos" of this great country, which has been with us through all these hundreds and perhaps thousands of years. Because if we are routed from that, then we lose our bearings, we lose our anchorage and we lose what has been the speciality and the peculiarity of India which has made it great in the past.

So, please understand that I do not want India to pursue its traditional ways of living, I want to bring India out of this traditional rut, traditional pattern of society, because that has not been in keeping with the modern world, but changing that traditional pattern by ways of science and technology; yet I want India to be changed, what is essentially Indian in the sense of its "ethos".

I believe that the future of India will be assured and the people of India will advance only by the combination of two things. One you may call nationalism, the other modern ways, modernisation. If you have only nationalism and traditionalism, then you remain where you are, sunk in poverty and cannot progress. If you only have modernisation without having those roots of character and philosophy or whatever they are, which India has developed in the past, then you lose your anchorage, your roots. You become superficial you may expect some progress here and there, but India ceases to be what it has been through the ages.

It is this combination of nationalism in its deeper sense and call it modernism, for which the Congress stands. And, I think, I repeat it is that combination which is necessary in India specially. Now so far as the Communist Party is concerned, in India basically it does not represent nationalism or the "ethos" of the Indian people [applause] and it does represent a certain type of modernism, part of it is common ground between everybody, part of it I believe is not common ground and there is a vital difference between their ways and our ways.

Now, it has sometimes been said by Communist leaders that they follow Jawaharlal's policy in foreign affairs, or, may be in some other matters. Well, I shall welcome them for following my policy. I shall be very glad if they follow it more fully. Certainly, in some matters, they have expressed bereavement with our policies. But the question is what is the basic approach of the Communist Party in India and recently, when certain developments on our frontiers took place, as you know, they shook the Communist Party because there came a conflict there, between nationalism and their idea of a Communist Internationalism. And there was much trouble there, and no doubt, many of those Communist leaders suffered perhaps a crisis of conscience. All

candidates—they suffered from what they know was a pull in their minds which had nothing to do with nationalism and the emergencies of the situation which demanded the people of India, demanded that they should stand by nationalism. So goes this conflict. That kind of thing came up and will come up repeatedly, and that creates difficulties not only for individuals or as a party, but what is more important, it creates difficulties for India, because if any group in India, in a moment of crisis, or in other moments, forget that their basic loyalty is with India. Then that group certainly does not represent India, whatever else it may be.

Thus, there is a basic difference in approach. It is not a question of some differences in superficial policy, but a basic difference in approach between that of the Communist Party of India and the Congress approach, or in the approach of several other parties in India. And that comes up, sometimes it is a hint, sometimes it comes up very clearly, and sometimes you may have heard important members of the Communist Party of India talk lightly of civil war in India.¹⁰⁴ Now simply imagine other people in India talk of civil war. They don't. They may quarrel, they may criticise each other, but they don't think in terms of civil war and yet, sometimes these words civil war are uttered, have been uttered by leaders of the Communist Party. You see this basic difference in approach. No Indian should think in terms of civil war, whatever happens. It is only the non-Indian outlook, an external outlook, this basic different outlook that sometimes said this, says so. Perhaps it may remain in the mind of many, times when it is not said, and we come up against this, difficulty and difference between our approaches. It may be sometimes right, and sometimes wrong, but it is an essentially Indian nationalistic approach, taking into consideration international problems also, because we do not wish to isolate ourselves, we want to be part of the international affairs. I have tried to put this before you here.

And, thus, this is I think, the basic reason why Communists' work, which is sometimes good in a particular field, but it tends to create, to encourage disruptive tendencies in India. When we want a certain united outlook and approach, their approach becomes disruptive and further that disruption is often allied to violent methods. I do not say that other people are not violent, sometimes they are. But at any rate, their philosophy and theory is not of violence and that also happens. In Kerala we have seen plenty of this. And may I say that it is not the Communists only, who have indulged in violence here in the past. There is

104. Z.A. Ahmed and E. M. S. Namboodiripad had on different occasions spoken of an impending civil war. For details, see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 394-395 and SWJN/SS/43/pp. 330-335, 590 and 655-656.

a very undesirable tendency, there has been here, to take to violence. Now we should fight that and put an end to it. But when the Communists come into the picture, that grows, that becomes bigger and it creates an atmosphere of disruption in the State which is there. Only two or three days ago I read in the newspaper about the death of a young boy at Alleppey. He was an ardent Congress worker and because he was a very enthusiastic worker, he had received threats and he died, two or three days later. Now an enquiry is going on and I do not wish to say who did it, who did not do it. But certainly this kind of thing happening shows how violence grows in this atmosphere and somehow or other this violence often accompanies Communist propaganda.

I want to warn you that if this spirit of violence spreads it would be very bad for you and for India and therefore, you must not fall into this trap. Because, that will lead only to disruption and misfortune for our people and all the big developmental and constructional activities will suffer. Therefore you must hold by this, this aversion to violence, and avoid it even though you might be excited.

Now I have tried to explain to you what I consider a basic difference in the approach of the Congress and the Communist Party. In many ways, any two parties are alike, they can't differ in everything. But we stand for a democratic structure. We stand also for a socialist pattern of society, giving equal opportunities to all, and we want to progress in this direction of what might be called democratic socialism. If people differ from it, somewhat, well, they have freedom to express their views. But what I have ventured to point out to you is a certain basic difference in approach of the Communist Party and the Congress in India. That is more important to me than certain similarities or certain dissimilarities, which may occur between two parties. And that is why inevitably, if an election occurs, naturally I want the Congress people and their associates to win and not the Communist Party, because I feel that even though in some matters, the Communist Party might be right as every party might be, their basic approach is a bad approach for India, it is a dangerous approach, and will take us away from the path of development which we shall wish to tread. It is true, it may be [that] the Communist Party people may tell you that they will go faster and all that, and occasionally in some matters, they might go faster, but the basic advance of the Indian people will be hampered, disrupted, because that Communist policy will lead to disruption, trouble and conflicts in India, and if that occurs, obviously progress does not occur.

The fact of the matter is that the Communist Party of India for all its brave words and phrases, is a very backward party in thinking. It still thinks in terms of what is written a hundred years ago, it does not realise that the world has changed, that India has changed, that India is changing and that the old slogans do not apply today in the same measure as it used to. I am prepared to admit

that all of us stick to our oral slogans, all of us even in the Congress, but at any rate, they are not scriptures for us, we try to change them, and therefore even what the Communist Party says has little relevance today even though it might have had some relevance in the past age.

Even in that great Communist country, in the Soviet Union, they have moved away from many of these old slogans. But the Communist Party of India still goes on repeating parrot-like something which has no great relevance today. It can't deal with practical problems, it has to change with the changing world.

Now soon, I am sorry, I shall have to go away because I have got to catch my plane in time and go to Bangalore and I am not talking to you much that I wanted to tell you. I wanted to tell you about the Bangalore session of the Congress, about the resolutions that we have passed there. There are only three resolutions, (1) about our economic policy and development (2) about international affairs and (3) about the trouble at our frontiers.¹⁰⁵ Well, I shall say only a few words about the first resolution, about the economic policy and development plan. You will see and I want you to read these resolutions carefully, and, if possible, go through part of the speeches. Now these resolutions are not fiery resolutions, notice to the world and all that. They are resolutions which are businesslike. We mean business, the Congress means business, and it is not out to shout slogans, because we bear the responsibility for the present and future of India and we have to shoulder that responsibility with wisdom, restraint and determination and hard work.

You will see that this main resolution of the Congress is a resolution about the implementation, about performance, about doing things and not merely shouting about them, because we have declared our objectives and shouted about them a great deal, our programme is a good programme, but we must implement it and it is not a question of the Government implementing it only, but the masses of India, you and you and you and all of us doing our little bit in it. That is the only way this country is going to advance. And so these resolutions, and indeed this situation in India, is a challenge to all of us, a challenge to work, hard work and to realise the objectives that we have set.

There is the challenge of our economic development and progress, the economic development and progress of four hundred million people, and there is the second challenge of trouble on our frontiers. Both require unity of purpose, strength, determination, perseverance. Both require not governmental functioning at the top only, but each person, each Indian, man or woman, or even child, do his or her duty. Therefore, I invite your attention to these resolutions and I invite you still more to this great work of building up India or

105. See items 12-14.

defending India, because the two are part of the same picture, and this invitation is not to the men only but to the women also, and the women of Kerala certainly have always taken an important part in national work and much is expected of them.

Now my time is up and I have got to go. So I wish you well, wish you well in every way and wish you well and success in the elections that are coming [Applause]. But remember that the elections are only a first step; you will have to work hard after them; do not imagine that your work is over because you win an election. This is the only opportunity that comes to you. You should maintain the tempo of your work afterwards. That is the true test of your enthusiasm.

Will you say Jai Hind with me three times?

Jai Hind (Nehru), Jai Hind (Audience)

Again Jai Hind. The women did not say at all and so they must say so separately. Jai Hind!

37. To G. B. Pant: Communists Might Rig Elections¹⁰⁶

January 23, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a telegram¹⁰⁷ I have received from Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani.¹⁰⁸

When I was in Cochin recently, I heard some of these rumours. What was said to me was that the Communist Party of Kerala had enrolled a fairly large number of people across the borders of Kerala as voters in Kerala and proposed to bring them over for the voting and present them right at the beginning. It was also said that many of these people might impersonate others who would come later and thus be unable to vote. This matter was discussed by me with the Governor¹⁰⁹ and others in Ernakulam. They said that they would take such steps as were feasible to prevent this, but, nevertheless, they might not be able to stop this wholly.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. Letter.

107. Sucheta Kripalani cabled from Calicut on 22 January thus, "Strong rumours in Calicut. Communists importing large number of gundas from Coimbatore near election day. Request take necessary steps."

108. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from New Delhi.

109. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

(vii) Uttar Pradesh

38. To Sampurnanand: CPI Activity in Almora¹¹⁰

January 22, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am informed that the Communist Party of India is carrying on considerable propaganda over the India-China issue in our hill areas. Almora has been especially mentioned to me. Their general propaganda is that there should be an immediate meeting between Chou En-lai and me. Broadly, this is put in the context of the reasonableness of China and our stiffness in this matter.

This kind of thing cannot easily be dealt with by the Government. It is really for the Congress to take action by its own propaganda in those areas. I wonder if you could suggest this to the UP Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Administration

(i) General

39. To N. R. Pillai: Heavy Workload in the MEA¹¹¹

I agree entirely with SG and FS.¹¹² While every effort should always be made by our Ministry to reduce the staff, the fact remains that the work of our Ministry has increased greatly. This is not merely a question of quantum of normal work but of very special and difficult problems, such as the trouble with China in regard to our frontiers. This involves hard work and also a very heavy responsibility. It is not routine work. Foreign Secretary and some others in our staff have to give a great deal of time to it. Indeed I have to give a good deal of time too. Commonwealth Secretary¹¹³ has also been heavily occupied in the new developments in regard to Pakistan,¹¹⁴ conferences, etc, as well as other

110. Letter to the Chief Minister of UP.

111. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 1 January 1960.

112. Subimal Dutt.

113. M. J. Desai.

114. 4-11 January 1960 regarding Indo-Pakistan Western Border talks. For details, see SWJN/SS/57/pp. 371-372 and 374-378.

work. From my personal experience I know that both the Foreign Secretary and the Commonwealth Secretary have to work beyond normal office hours and even at home. To ask them to take charge of complicated administration at the same time is not at all feasible. That administration itself involves hard and detailed work.

2. I think, therefore, that the continuance of the Special Secretary is inevitable if work has to be done at all satisfactorily in this Ministry.

40. To K. M. Cariappa: We are very different in Outlook¹¹⁵

January 1, 1960

My dear Cariappa,

I have received your letter of December 28. I hope you appreciate that I am rather a busy person and the time we are passing through adds to the burdens I carry. I find it difficult to reply to a large number of personal letters that I get or there is often delay in replying to them. I give first place naturally to the correspondence which is not personal and which deals with important matters of State.

I think you must have got a wrong impression from my talk with you if you thought that I had promised to say something to the press about my previous statement. The statement I made previously at a press conference,¹¹⁶ in answer to a question, expressed my views and I have not changed them. I was sorry, however, that I had expressed those views in a manner which pained you and I told you so.

I am afraid that your views and mine on a number of questions differ completely. Since I happen to be in charge of Government and India's policy, I have to function in accordance with my views. It is difficult for me to discuss basic matters with you or with anyone else. I have been conditioned as I am by a vast number of experiences during the last fifty years. You have been conditioned differently by your experiences, which have been quite different. Hence no doubt the difference in outlook.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

115. Letter.

116. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 230-31, 483, 486 and 583-84.

41. To D. P. Karmarkar: Duraiswami at the AIIMS¹¹⁷

January 1, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

Dr. Duraiswami¹¹⁸ came to see me today. He was not particularly happy with the uncertain state of affairs which exist in relation to him in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences.¹¹⁹ He gave me a paper which I enclose. In this a proposal is made as how best to utilise his services both at the Safdarjung hospital and the Institute. I think the proposal deserves consideration.

I suggest that you might send for Dr. Duraiswami and discuss this matter with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. To B. N. Jha: Padma Shri Awards¹²⁰

During my Bombay visit recently, Dr. H.J. Bhabha¹²¹ mentioned to me the names of two persons working in the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay. They have done outstanding work and he mentioned them for award of Padma Shri. As a matter of fact, last year he had mentioned their names to me, but as we had already included one or two persons, then, we thought we would not add to that number.

These two persons are: H.B. Prasad, Head of the Reactor Engineering and Reactor Operation Divisions of the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay; and A.S. Rao, Head of the Health Physics Division, Reactor Control Division and Electronics Division of the Atomic Energy Establishment.

There is no doubt that these persons have done very good work and have helped greatly in putting up the reactors at Bombay.

I recommend that both these names be included in the list of Padma Shri. You might consult the Home Minister.

I enclose a note that Dr. Bhabha gave me about these two persons.

117. Letter to the Union Minister of Health. File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

118. P. K. Duraiswami was a Professor at AIIMS.

119. See also SWJN/SS/44/p. 358-361.

120. Note to Jha, the Home Secretary, 4 January 1960.

121. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

43. To B. D. Jatti: Traffic Management during Nehru's Visits¹²²

January 5, 1960

My dear Jatti,

I am writing to you about police arrangements on the roads in Bangalore during the Congress Session.¹²³ Recently when I was in Bombay there was much trouble and annoyance caused by totally unnecessary police arrangements. Traffic was stopped repeatedly whenever I had to pass. I thought we had issued instructions that traffic should not be stopped for any person.

Also, at any function which I may attend, there must not be too big a gap between the place where I sit or stand and the audience I address.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. To G. B. Pant: Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar Wants to Travel Occasionally¹²⁴

Bangalore.

January 14, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I had a talk with the Maharaja of Mysore¹²⁵ about the suggestions he had made to you about himself. I was rather surprised to find that either he had not explained himself properly or you had misunderstood him. He has no desire to go abroad as Head of one of our foreign Missions. Nor is he at all keen to be in the Rajya Sabha. What he wants to do is to be able to go, from time to time, on some deputation abroad. He would probably like to go in our UN Delegation or the UNESCO Delegation. He does not want to be away from India too long. At the same time, he doesn't want to stay in India all the time.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

122. Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore. File No. 8/119/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

123. 16-17 January 1960.

124. Letter to the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

125. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar, Governor of Mysore.

45. To Nath Pai: Second Pay Commission Recommendations¹²⁶

Bangalore

January 16, 1960

Dear Nath Pai,

I have your letter of the 13th January.¹²⁷

I have every sympathy with the employees of the Central Government. But I confess I do not appreciate, in existing circumstances, their objection to the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission. It was with the greatest difficulty that Government decided to accept these recommendations. Any additional burden on Government at the present stage must come in the way of our planning and development. Nevertheless, we thought it would not be right for us not to accent the Pay Commission's recommendations. But we decided also that this additional burden should somehow be met in other ways.

Here we are facing critical situations both in regard to our economy and in regard to defence. People talk with considerable vehemence about facing these challenges with all their might and even their lives for the country. This is hard to fit in with additional demands such as are being made. It is very clear that the talk about meeting the crisis at every cost is not really meant. In other countries during any similar crisis the burden has been much heavier. In Germany, soon after the war, the burden was terrific. But only thus they managed to make good, I must, therefore, express my disappointment at these demands which have no relation to existing conditions and crises.

You have referred to some proposal for the establishment of Whitley Councils.¹²⁸ I shall enquire about this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. Letter to Nath Pai, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Rajapur, Bombay.

127. See Appendix 7.

128. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 363-364.

46. To Vishnu Sahay: Asok Chanda on Streamlining Procedures¹²⁹

I am forwarding to you a note¹³⁰ which Shri Asok Chanda, the Comptroller & Auditor General, has sent me. He is anxious that his name should not be mentioned in this connection.

2. I suggest that his note might be circulated to members of the Cabinet and the Planning Commission without mentioning his name.

3. I have an idea that the general question of expediting our procedures is being considered by some committee. If so, this note might be considered by them also. I am offering no opinions about the note.¹³¹

47. To Angelo Poli: Passport for a Bishop¹³²

January 21, 1960

My dear Bishop,

Your letter of the 16th January. I am sure that no discourtesy was meant to you when the Superintendent of Police in Naini Tal wrote to you about a passport. This is the normal practice. All of us have to take passports whenever we have to travel abroad. In the case of those residents of India who are not formally Indian nationals, two ways are open. One is, if they so choose, to become Indian nationals and the other is to have a regular passport of the country whose nationality they claim. The old method of having registration papers is now out of date.

You will appreciate that some general rules have to be framed. A passport lasts normally for five years and can usually be renewed without any trouble.

I am returning the two papers you have sent me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

129. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 21 January 1960. File No. 2 (338)/59-71-PMS.

130. About appointing a committee to propose streamlining of Government procedures.

131. See SWJN/SS/57/p. 124.

132. Letter to the former Bishop of Allahabad.

48. To K. C. Reddy: Vigyan Bhavan for Jayaprakash Narayan's Conference¹³³

January 22, 1960

My dear Reddy,

Jayaprakash Narayan came to see me today and said that his request for the Vigyan Bhavan Hall for a day and Committee Rooms for some days for his Afro-Asian Conference had been rejected. He did not wish to ask for any concessions, but to pay the ordinary rate.

I am inclined to think that if there are no special concessions, we might agree to his having the Hall, and the Committee Rooms provided this does not clash with any other previous commitment of yours. That is, we should treat him like any other applicant for the use of Vigyan Bhavan. I understand that the Convention is going to be held from February 18th to 21st. Presumably they will require the Hall on the 18th February only.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) M. T. Joseph's Suicide

49. To S. K. Patil¹³⁴

January 8, 1960

My dear S.K.,

The news of the suicide of M.T. Joseph, who I believe worked in the Pusa Institute, is very shocking, or rather, it is not the suicide but the reason he has given for it. Here is a young man who is selected and sent for special training abroad, comes back with a Ph.D. and still continues in his old post drawing about Rs. 220 or Rs. 250 a month. Evidently, promotions are not governed by merit or training, but by some idea of seniority. This is the very idea we have been trying to hit on the head. In regard to scientists especially, it is a sure way of killing initiative and, stopping progress of science.

This is going to create some kind of a furore among our scientists. It will be brought up before us to show that scientists are treated so badly in India that they prefer to stay abroad.

133. Letter to the Minister for Works, Housing and Supply.

134. Letter to the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture

I hope you will be good enough to look into this matter and, what is more necessary, into the rules which lead to such tragedies.¹³⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. To Vishnu Sahay¹³⁶

You must know about the suicide of Dr. M.T. Joseph, who was employed in the Food & Agriculture Ministry.¹³⁷ This has naturally resulted in a strong reaction all over India, more especially among scientists. The suicide occurred about two days after I had criticised Indian scientists preferring to work outside India, and naturally every newspaper has commented upon this.

2. I had asked my PPS to ask for a report. A preliminary report has been sent to me which I am passing on to you together with a note by PPS. Even from this preliminary report, it seems to me that Dr. Joseph was treated very badly.

3. I am interested in this particular case naturally and I shall see to it that Mrs. Joseph is given all possible help. I understand that the Minister of Food & Agriculture is raising some money, even apart from such official help that might be given.

4. This tragic incident brings very much to the fore the way our Ministries function. I think, therefore, that this matter should be examined much more thoroughly, both as a case in itself and also in order to enable us to find out where our procedures go wrong.

5. The person in charge of the Department in which Dr. Joseph was working is primarily responsible, and it is not good enough for him to take shelter behind some interpretation of rules. As far as I can make out, even those rules were not properly followed, restrictive as they might have been. There was a total lack of understanding of the case, and a dead, unimaginative approach, not only from the point of view of the individual, but also of the Department and the work to be done. I cannot understand how his applications

135. To a query of 12 January 1960 from George Thomas Kottukapally, Congress MP from Muvattupuzha, Kerala, Nehru replied on 13 January that he had asked for an enquiry and assured him that "I shall do everything in my power to help Mrs. Joseph and her children."

136. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 19 January 1960.

137. See item 49 and SWJN/SS/57/pp. 168-175.

were not forwarded and were suppressed. Even the undertaking Dr. Joseph gave was interpreted to mean that he must serve in the same Department. This was not correct. He could have served in any Department of the Government of India, according to the undertaking. Then again there was an opening in that very Department.

6. The Haffkine Institute was anxious to have him, but it was not made possible for him to go there.

7. Again it is extraordinary that the recommendation that his salary might be increased by Rs.30/- a month was vetoed by someone in the Finance Ministry. Who was this particular person in the Finance Ministry? I should like you to find out and ask him for reasons.

8. The Head of the department in which Dr. Joseph served, the Director or by whatever name he is called, should be asked specific questions as to why Dr. Joseph was treated in this way. I should like to have a list of the scientific personnel serving in his Department, with their salaries, qualifications, etc.

9. I believe that a new entrant in the Indian Administrative Service begins with a salary of Rs.350/-. Dr. Joseph, after some period of service, was only getting Rs.170/- a month, and a suggestion that this might be increased to Rs.200/- was rejected! This seems to me a clear example of the way we treat our expert personnel most unfairly.

(d) Social Groups

51. To Chief Ministers: Muslim Ministers for Waqfs¹³⁸

January 4, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

My colleague in the Central Cabinet, Shri Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, has written to me making a suggestion which I pass on to you. He points out that Muslims generally attach great importance to the administration, superintendence and control of Muslim Waqfs. The income from these Waqfs go to a small extent to help in the provision of educational facilities and social amenities for the community. He suggests, therefore, that it would be desirable for the Waqf portfolio in the States to be entrusted to a Muslim Minister wherever there is one in the State Cabinet. This will give a certain measure of satisfaction to the

138. Letter to Chief Ministers of all States except Jammu and Kashmir and Kerala; also copied to Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

Muslim community and the Minister in charge can be expected to handle the subject with greater appreciation of the community's needs and opinions.

I hope you will be good enough to consider this suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

52. To Jagjit Singh: Namdhari Misconduct¹³⁹

January 8, 1960

Dear Jagjit Singhji,

I have had some reports about the activities of your followers which have disturbed me. When you came to see me some time ago,¹⁴⁰ you gave me assurances that in future there will be no trouble. Evidently those assurances have not been kept and, from the accounts I have received, your own attitude in these matters has not been very satisfactory. I am writing to you, therefore, because I want to be perfectly frank with you.

Maharaj Nihal Singh MP has also informed me of the threats he is constantly receiving through letters or otherwise. In fact, threats almost amount to putting him in fear of his life if he goes back to his house or to his land. He cannot even take possession of his land because of these threats. This seems to me extraordinary. The responsibility for this must necessarily rest on you as the head of the Namdharis. I have always been told that the Namdharis are a very disciplined group. If any of them misbehaves, it shows either utter lack of discipline or wrong directions from their leaders.

I am writing to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, on this subject also.¹⁴¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. Letter to the Guru of the Namdharis.

140. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 353 & 362.

141. See item 53.

53. To Partap Singh Kairon: Namdhari Misconduct¹⁴²

January 8, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I had a visit from Maharaj Nihal Singh Namdhari, MP. He was in a state of mental collapse from sheer fear. Tears trickled down his face. He has been getting anonymous letters that his life is not safe. The land that he has inherited from his father has apparently not been given to him. I have some respect for Nihal Singh. He has been an honest and a straightforward person.

Because of all this I have written a letter to the present guru of the Namdharis, Jagjit Singh.¹⁴³ This young man, as you know, came to see me some months ago¹⁴⁴ and was full of expressions of goodwill and loyalty, etc. I gave him good advice that he must not allow his people to behave badly. Evidently, that advice has not gone far and he is continuing in his old ways. I am told that he went about saying after he saw me that I had in a way patted him on his back and written to you that good treatment should be accorded to him. All this is very irritating. He appears to me to be a bad hat.

Reports have also reached me that this Jagjit Singh Namdhari group is tied up with smuggling in a big way. I believe some of his people were arrested, but were later released. I think all this requires looking into.

It may surprise you to learn, as it has surprised me, that some of your letters addressed to me reached me open, i.e. the envelopes have been cut open on one side. I have handed over this matter to our police for inquiry as also to the Posts & Telegraphs Department. It would appear that someone allied to your opponents, who is perhaps in the P&T Department, is responsible for this. I am informing you of this so that you may, on your side, take such steps as you think necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

142. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

143. See item 52.

144. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 353 & 362

54. To G. B. Pant: Neo-Buddhists¹⁴⁵

Bangalore

January 17, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Shri Kamble, one of our MPs,¹⁴⁶ has been pursuing me about the Neo Buddhists. I gave him an interview. Now he has written a long letter to me. I do not want to trouble you about this matter. At the same time I do not quite know what to do with this letter and so I am sending it to you.

I have told him I cannot extend the Constitution, but have to follow it. Therefore the special privileges given to the Scheduled Castes cannot be extended in so far as representation is concerned, but that our general approach was to give help on some economic basis to backward classes, etc, and I presume that Neo Buddhists come in that category.

He has now asked me for information about any Government scheme or any other official arrangement by which this type of economic help is given.

Perhaps you will be good enough to ask your Ministry to send me a note on this subject.

Yours affectionately,

Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Representative Institutions

55. In Bombay: Parliamentary Procedures¹⁴⁷

PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF GOVT.

PROCEDURES MUST BE SPEEDED UP: NEHRU'S VIEW ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE QUICK PROGRESS

Prime Minister Nehru stressed here today the importance of speeding up to some extent the pattern of parliamentary procedures and even governmental procedures to keep pace with the rapid changes that were taking place not only in this country but elsewhere also.

145. Letter to the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

146. B.C. Kamble, Independent, Lok Sabha Member from Kopergaon-SC, Bombay.

147. Report of speech at a book launch, Bombay, 2 January 1960. From *The Hindu*, 3 January 1960.

The Prime Minister, who was presiding over a function held at the Taj Mahal Hotel in connection with the publication of the book entitled "*Practice and procedure of Indian Parliament*" by Mr. S.S. More,¹⁴⁸ said that he was glad that increasing attention was being paid not only in India but in other countries like England and the U.S.A. to the study of parliamentary procedures.

Mr. Nehru said that the procedures of Parliament should not only be quick but decisions taken by the Houses should be implemented rapidly. The procedures of the Indian Parliament were essentially the same as that of England. But though the background remained the same, the parliamentary procedures of England which were developed in the 19th century had changed a great deal since that time. The change was more rapid particularly during the last 20 years. Decisions had to be taken rapidly and they had also to be implemented rapidly.

Mr. Nehru said that he had recently been studying the American Constitution which was a good one. Even in the United States with its fast developed economy and high industrialisation, there were checks and counter-checks and it ultimately took time to get things implemented. America and the United Kingdom, which had different types of constitutions were experiencing the difficulties of the procedures of the Parliament though they had passed the "vital stage of maturity". In India, which was passing through technical development, far greater steps had to be taken to get things done quickly.

The Prime Minister declared emphatically that it was not possible to slow down the pace of change and added that when a chain of changes was set in motion, they would have to go forward. Otherwise they would be wasting a great deal of "national energy". They had to develop simultaneously along a number of lines. Otherwise there would be delay in technical development. The more difficult it became, the more difficult would be the progress.

Referring to the complaint that there had been too much of legislation, the Prime Minister said whether any legislation was good or bad, was a matter of opinion. But, he averred, those who said that there was too much of legislation, did not quite appreciate and realise the necessity for change.

Mr. Nehru said that during emergencies, such as war, they had to carry on the fight for survival by making decisions quickly. The war was carried on, and the rules of parliamentary procedure basically prevailed. The urgency of the problem was, whether industrially, or in the five-year plan or on the food front, parliamentary procedures as well as governmental procedures had to move quickly particularly in a slow moving society like India.

148. Former Maharashtra Congress Committee Member; later on became MP in 1952 from Peasants and Workers' party.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

56. To Brajraj Singh: Participating in Five Year Plan Preparation¹

जनवरी 1, 1960

प्रिय श्री ब्रजराज सिंह,
आपका 23 दिसम्बर का पत्र मुझे मिला। मेरा विचार था कि आपकी और आपके दल की यह राय है कि गवर्नमेंट के किसी काम में सहयोग नहीं होना चाहिए। इसलिए आपको इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में जो कमेटी बनी, आपको लिए तकलीफ़ देने की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी। जिन लोगों ने अपनी इच्छा जताई उसमें होने की, वह ले लिए गए। अगर आप उसमें आना चाहते हैं तो ज़रूर आ सकते हैं।

आपका
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

January 1, 1960

Dear Shri Brajraj Singh,

I got your letter of 23rd December. I was under the impression that you and your party do not want to cooperate in any of the Government's programme/work. That is the reason for not considering/including your name in the committee formed for the five year plan. Those, who wished to participate in it, have been inducted. If you want to join it, you can certainly do so.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends.]

1. Letter to Socialist Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad, UP. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

57. To V. T. Krishnamachari: Adler on China²

January 4, 1960

My dear VT,

Thank you for your letter of January 4³ in which you have given me an account of Adler's⁴ talks with you about China. I met Adler myself and he spoke on these lines to me.

Your letter is so interesting that I am sending copies of it to some of our Ministers here and to the Chief Ministers of States.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

58. To B. C. Roy: Plan and Defence⁵

January 6, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

I am happy to learn that the operation on your eye has passed off successfully and that you are now recovering from its effects. I hope that you will take good rest before you rush back to Calcutta.

In another two days, I shall be going to Assam for the Brahmaputra Bridge there.⁶ From there I shall go almost directly, via Delhi to Bangalore. I shall thus be away from Delhi for eleven days. The very next day after my return to Delhi, President Voroshilov⁷ with his large party will arrive here.

In spite of these various engagements, we are meeting daily in Cabinet to consider both the next Five Year Plan and the defence situation on the border. In a sense, the two are inter-twined, though inevitably some greater stress will have to be given to matters connected with defence.

2. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS.
3. See Appendix 3.
4. Solomon Adler (1909-1994); economist at the U.S. Treasury Department; Treasury representative in China during World War II; taught at Cambridge University, UK; worked as a translator and economic advisor in China from the 1950s until his death.
5. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Reproduced from Saroj Chakrabarty, *With Dr. B. C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers: A Record Upto 1962* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), p. 438. Also available in JN Collection.
6. See items 28-29.
7. Kliment Efremovich Voroshilov of the USSR.

Early in February, I suppose, Indira will go to Calcutta for her operation. I do not quite know if a date has been fixed yet. If possible, I should like to be there at the time.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

59. To V. T. Krishnamachari: Third Plan Publicity⁸

January 7, 1960

My dear VT,

I met Asoka Mehta⁹ today. He said that while much was apparently being done by the Planning Commission in regard to the Third Five Year Plan, the public and indeed even Members of Parliament knew very little about it. That was a pity, and it led to all kinds of misapprehensions in the press and elsewhere. The public mind was not being trained to think on right lines. When the draft report comes out it will probably be too big a one for people to grasp it quickly.

He, therefore, suggested that we should take some steps to keep the public mind informed of what was being done. We need not say what we have decided about any particular matter, but the broad indications of our thinking might be given. This is particularly necessary for Parliament.

I think there is much in what Asoka Mehta said. We should make an attempt to keep Parliament and the public informed. Perhaps you could have a suitable paper prepared for MPs which could be distributed to them at the opening of the next session of Parliament.

It is particularly necessary that the MPs Committee which I have formed should be kept in close touch with our work. I hope that you will be able to send them as many papers as you can.¹⁰

Asoka Mehta also said something about an active and intelligent Public Relations Officer for the Planning Commission. I dislike adding officers

8. Letter. File No. F. 11/4/60-CDN, Planning Commission, Coordination Branch. Copied to Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister of Planning.

9. PSP, Lok Sabha MP.

10. Enclosing a list of papers already sent to the MPs Committee, V. T. Krishnamachari replied on 19 January that the Planning Commission was preparing four documents on: (i) the background to the Third Plan; (ii) selected projects under way; (iii) the objectives of the Third Plan in relation to long-term development; and (iv) the population problem.

anywhere, and certainly the normal press man will be no good in the Planning Commission. Still we should give thought to the question of giving proper and suitable publicity to our activities.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. To Vaikunth L. Mehta: Ambar Charkha¹¹

January 23, 1960

My dear Vaikunthbhai,

I am enclosing a letter from P. Ekambaranathan,¹² with its enclosures. It is for you to deal with this matter. I do not know the facts, but I think that it will only be right for the inventor of the Ambar charkha to be helped in every way to carry on his researches, and also to get something out of them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

61. To All India Businessmen's Convention: Rapid Economic Growth¹³

ENSURING ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE NEHRU ASKS BUSINESS MEN TO CHANGE APPROACH

New Delhi. Jan., 25.- Prime Minister Nehru today asked business men to approach the economic problems facing the country with a view to ensuring speedy achievement of the nation's goal—real economic independence—while at the same time decreasing the burden on the people.

Addressing the All-India Business men's Convention here, Pandit Nehru said such an approach could neither be dialectical nor philosophical but one based on science, modern technique and co-operation.

11. Letter to the Chairman of the Khadi & Village Industries Board. File No. 17 (1)/R2/60-II. Also available in JN Collection.

12. He asked for help with his research and support to his family.

13. Speech, 25 January 1960. From *National Herald*, 26 January 1960.

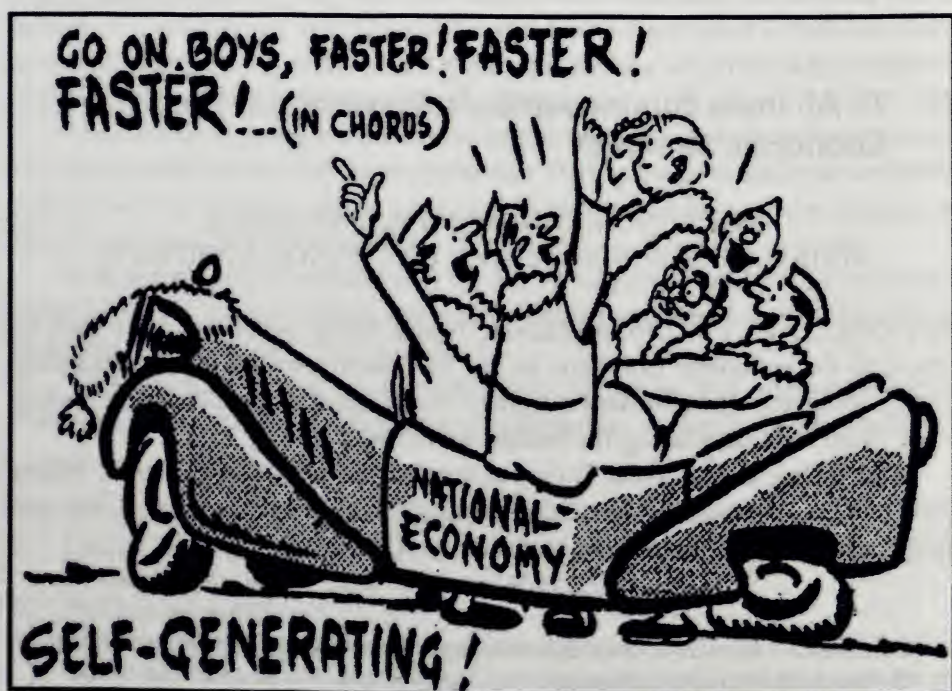
Pandit Nehru said that old economic principles and dogmas did not suit the needs of the underdeveloped countries of Asia and the world. Ways of thinking must adjust themselves to the fast changing times. This was not only for the top leaders of the society and the business community, the whole country should base its thinking on science and technology.

“Such an approach is not only desirable but is dictated by force of circumstances,” he added.

In the world of today, Pandit Nehru said, there was no truly traditional society. There was a constant tug-of-war between the traditional and the progressive society. Unless science and technology were strongly rooted into the minds of the people, any progress achieved would not be truly real.

SELF-GENERATING ECONOMY

Pandit Nehru said that countries like the USA and the Soviet Union were called technically mature and were now on the doorsteps of a stage known as high consumption society. But where was India? It said that India was at the end of



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 17 JANUARY 1960)

a stage in which the society could be influenced by technology and at the beginning of the next one where the economy would be self-generating.

To reach the point of "take-off" or self-generating economy, Pandit Nehru said that production had to be increased in every field. China too was in this category and both she and India were trying hard. "We should make full use of our resources to increase the national wealth and also ensure its proper distribution. You cannot, for long now, perpetuate inequalities because the whole atmosphere has changed. A socialist atmosphere has come to stay. What socialists said about 50 years ago is being today said by capitalists of America", the Prime Minister declared.

Pandit Nehru said, that speakers at the convention had complained of too much of controls and Government interference in the activities of the business community. On principle, he believed that there should be no hindrances in the way of the business community except when they were necessary in the interests of the community in general. Controls existed in almost every country, including the United States, not because the Government liked them but because they were necessary.

Pandit Nehru said that there was a lot of criticism against the policy of state trading in food grains. It was said that it would increase unemployment. No body in the Government or elsewhere liked people to be unemployed but in switch-over from one industrial structure to another some people did suffer but temporarily.

It was also not true to say that mechanisation would have bad results. No country could stick on to old methods and techniques. Pandit Nehru said.

WHY HIGH TAXES

Pandit Nehru said that it was right that grievance should be brought to light. Steps should also be taken to remedy them if they were true. It was said that taxation was high. Generally speaking it was true that taxation in India was higher than in any other country. It was also true that there were many controls. But it was a different matter as to which were right and which were wrong. They were enforced only when necessary. For instance, Government could not look on when the prices of foodgrains were going up and up. It was for the Government to see that one section of the community did not exploit the other.

The Prime Minister said that business men had so far looked at these problems from a particular angle. If they looked at those problems from other angles too, probably they would have a better picture of the situation.

Pandit Nehru said the business men should not measure the country's achievements by foreign yard-sticks. Our problems were basically different.

While taking advantage of every principle and dogma their approach should be one which would ensure early achievement of the goal of economic freedom and also decrease burden on the common man.

Pandit Nehru emphasised the need for laying a strong and firm industrial base. He said that it was necessary for the country to have basic industries. Steps should also be taken to modernise industry and agriculture. While doing so, the needs of middle and small-scale industries should not be overlooked.

Pandit Nehru said there was no alternative to co-operative farming if agriculture were to be modernised and developed.

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

62. To A. K. Sen: Orphanages¹⁴

Bombay

January 3, 1960

My dear Asoke,

Cardinal Gracias¹⁵ of Bombay came to see me today about the Orphanages and other Charitable Homes Bill. He said that he had intended leading a deputation of Bishops to Delhi on this subject, but as I came here he has put down his views in the enclosed letter. If necessary, he will come to Delhi later.

I told him that this matter was before Parliament and had been probably referred to a Select Committee. I was not fully acquainted with the details and could not discuss it with him. In dealing with these orphanages, etc. we have to consider not only the few good ones, but the many bad ones also.

I told him that I am forwarding his letter to you as you are dealing with this Bill and you will no doubt consider fully what he has written. If you think it necessary, you can write to him on this subject or even ask him to come to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Letter to the Union Minister of Law.

15. Valerian Cardinal Gracias; President, Catholic Bishops Conference of India.

63. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Inaugurating a Panchayat Scheme¹⁶

January 4, 1960

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,
Your letter of January 3.¹⁷

If it is possible to inaugurate the Panchayat scheme during my brief visit to Ernakulam, I shall do so. I am not quite sure of the exact time of my arrival there. Probably I shall reach there at 12 and stay till about 5 P.M. at the latest. I think that the Panchayat ceremony might well take place before lunch so that I can have the afternoon free for my Congress engagements.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Unproductive Schemes in Dandakaranya¹⁸

Bangalore
January 12, 1960

My dear Mehr Chand,

I wrote to you a few lines from Delhi yesterday¹⁹ about my talks with Tariq, MP,²⁰ in regard to the Dandakaranya scheme. That was written in a hurry. I am worried about the report he gave me. It appears that other Members of the Estimates Committee also went there. Among them was Renu Chakravartty.²¹ No doubt these other members, and especially Renu Chakravartty, will take this matter up in Parliament and elsewhere and you will have to deal with it. It

16. Letter to the Governor of Kerala. File No. 8/119/59-PMS.

17. Ramkrishna Rao asked Nehru to inaugurate a scheme in which a group of twenty panchayats were to be granted greater powers. The previous Government had prepared a Panchayat Bill but the Legislature had been dissolved before its consideration. This experiment was in anticipation of a new bill

18. Letter to the Union Minister of Rehabilitation.

19. Nehru wrote: "We are spending large sums of money on Dandakaranya scheme, and the bureaucratic element is growing. We want a human element there." He asked Mehr Chand Khanna to personally look after that matter.

20. A.M. Tariq, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir.

21. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

is necessary, therefore, to go into this thoroughly and make such improvements as are needed quickly.

Tariq told me that Rs. 30 lakhs have been spent on buying tents for these people who are going there. This sum is a very large sum and it seems to me a pity that it should be spent for a temporary purpose. Quite a large number of small houses could be built for this sum.

Then there was the question of large numbers of trucks and jeeps being purchased. I suppose many of these are necessary. But I have long had a feeling that we spend too much over these equipments and sometimes they are not even used.

There was a case of a woman who was giving birth to a child. When the doctor was sent for, the doctor did not come and both the mother and the child died. This is a serious matter. When a doctor does not come when there is an urgent demand, he would in England be hauled up by the Medical Council.

I was further told that there were mobile vans for showing films, but there was no operator.

The weather was cold there and there was not enough covering provided. The children especially suffered from this. Prices of vegetables, etc, were very high.

I gathered from Tariq that the feeling amongst the adivasis was growing against the Bengalis. There was no effort at public relations to explain matters to the adivasis that their interests would not be sacrificed.

Generally speaking, the impression gathered by the Estimates Committee was that there was no adequate planning or public relations.

Tariq suggested that some people from the Ramakrishna Mission might be invited there to bring in a human approach. It would be a good thing if this could be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

65. To S. K. Dey: Community Development Faltering²²

Bangalore

January 12, 1960

My dear Dey,

You will remember my speaking to you about a letter I had received from Gunada Majumdar.²³ He has now sent me another letter and a long note.²⁴ I am sending it to you. I have glanced through this note. As I do not know what to do with this, I am sending it to you. I do not agree with something that he has written or some proposals that he has made. With much else that he has written, everybody will agree.

In the course of our discussions in the Working Committee, the Community Development movement naturally came up. There was a general feeling that it had lost its original drive and had developed more and more into a purely governmental organisation; that it had failed to develop, as much as we expected, the spirit of self-help among the people and the tendency was to expect more and more help from Government. In other words, that the large sums of money spent on it have not shown adequate results.

Naturally the recent criticisms of it in the UN Evaluation Report and by others were referred to. In the resolution that we are likely to put up before the Congress, some reference to this will no doubt be made.

I am merely passing this on to you for your information.²⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. Letter to the Union Minister of Community Development and Cooperation. File No. 17(28)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
23. Founder Member of the Congress Socialist Party.
24. See Appendix 6.
25. S.K. Dey informed Nehru on 30 January that he had met Gunada Majumdar in Delhi and convinced him that what they were doing through the Panchayati Raj was right. He added that he proposed to follow up on the Bangalore resolution and "I would like to tell the critics what they ought to know, but do not know. It will do their soul a lot of good."

66. To Dayaram H. Garibdas: A Suggestion for the Sindhi Community²⁶

January 21, 1960

Dear Shri Dayaram,

I have received your letter of the 5th January. It is not quite clear to me what you would like me to do about your community. The one suggestion you make is that you might help in the cooperative movement. Certainly it will be a good thing if you do so. But this movement is entirely voluntary and starts from village upwards.

I know that the Sindhi mercantile community has shown great enterprise in the past. It should continue to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Food and Agriculture

67. To V. T. Krishnamachari: René Dumont's Article²⁷

Bangalore

January 12, 1960

My dear V.T.,

You will remember the article that René Dumont wrote in the *New Statesman*²⁸ about our Community Development movement etc. That article said much that was true, and yet I think it gave an unbalanced picture of our work and development. It made depressing reading, and I have no doubt that people who have read it in foreign countries must have gathered the same impression, in fact more so because they are unacquainted with other aspects.

A well known American journalist²⁹ spoke to me about it and said that this article had had a bad effect on those who read it. He asked me if any kind of a reply to it was going to be published.

26. Letter to the President, Sindhi Commercial & Industrial Federation.

27. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. 31(100)/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

28. On 19 December 1959. For details, see SWJN/SS/55/pp. 179-181.

29. Walter Lippmann. See also SWJN/SS/55/p. 4.

Thinking over this matter, I feel that it would certainly be desirable if something was sent in reply to the *New Statesman* for publication. Reply is perhaps not the right word. What I mean is something bringing out other aspects of this movement, the good it has done and the way we are profiting by criticisms etc. It is my personal opinion that there is much greater realisation now among all our people as to what should be done, and I feel sure that a marked improvement will take place.

Anyhow, I am suggesting that some such letter or article be sent to the *New Statesman*. Could you have this prepared by someone in the Planning Commission?

I am sending a copy of this letter to S.K. Dey.³⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

68. To K. Ram: Agricultural Improvement³¹

I enclose a letter from Shri Brij Krishen.³² A few days ago he brought some kisans from Delhi to see me. These people gave me some rice they had grown. They were very pleased because this was the first time after many years that they could use this land which was previously lying unused.

2. The reclamation, however, has only been partly done, and much work remains. You might enquire from the authorities concerned about this and suggest that this work might be expedited.

30. In response to a letter of 24 December 1959 from R. K. Khadilkar, MKP, Lok Sabha MP, Nehru wrote on 1 January 1960, "While much that he says is true, nevertheless the whole picture he gives is greatly exaggerated and not true. However, we should learn from what he said."

31. Note to PPS, 14 January 1960.

32. Chandiwalla, Convenor of the Delhi Branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

69. To D. N. Tewari: Rat Menace in Mizo Hills³³

Bangalore
January 14, 1960

Dear Shri Tewari,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th January 1960 which I have read with interest. Only a few days ago I was in Shillong and there I received a deputation from the Mizo Hills District. This deputation told me of their various difficulties, more especially because of the rat menace. I discussed this with them as well as with the Chief Minister of Assam³⁴ and the Governor of Assam.³⁵ The Assam Government is trying to help the Mizo District to the best of its ability. As you have already sent a copy of your letter to the Chief Minister of Assam, he will no doubt give it full consideration.³⁶

As for connecting this area by railway, I rather doubt if this will be a feasible proposal in the near future. Anyhow, you have addressed the Minister of Railways³⁷ on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

70. To S. K. Patil: State Farms in Rajasthan³⁸

Bangalore
January 15, 1960

My dear SK,

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Chief Minister of Rajasthan³⁹ in which he suggests that we should have some more mechanised State Farms in the Rajasthan area which is going to be supplied by water from the Rajasthan Canal. I am broadly in agreement with this. This area is very sparsely populated and therefore it is suitable for this type of development. It will not involve displacing

33. Letter to Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Cachar, Assam.

34. B. P. Chaliha.

35. S. M. Srinagesh.

36. See SWJN/SS/57/p. 198.

37. Jagjivan Ram.

38. Letter to the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture. File No. 31(101)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

39. Mohanlal Sukhadia. See Appendix 4.

any one. The people who are there will, of course, be absorbed in the State Farms that might be started.

This does not mean that we should vary our broad land policy which is one of small farms owned by individuals and organised by cooperatives. That policy, of course, is an all-India policy and must continue. But, apart from this, we may have these mechanised State Farms in Rajasthan under State control. These farms would directly supply us a considerable quantity of food grains which would form a reserve to meet any possible food deficiency elsewhere. In the Suratgarh Farm we saw that production was quite high even without fertilizers and results were achieved quickly. The soil is very good indeed and the only requirement is water. When the Rajasthan Canal begins functioning, this water will come. Of course, with the addition of fertilizers, production will be much greater.

The question of acquisition of land does not arise or hardly arises and it will be desirable for the Rajasthan State to take early steps to take possession of this land.⁴⁰ The other and more difficult question is the financing, which means the acquisition of the necessary machinery. The only way to do this in an integrated manner is to get it from the Soviets as they have such large mechanised farms and produce the necessary machinery for them. This is what we have done in the case of Suratgarh with good results. We have no available credits from the Soviets at present as we have already made provision for all their present credits. It might be possible, however, to get some machinery under credit from them. I was told by the Soviet Ambassador⁴¹ that production is adequate to pay back for the machinery within three years.

If this general idea is approved of, the first thing to be done is for the Rajasthan Government to acquire the land, where necessary. The second acquisition of credits from the Soviets might be considered separately.⁴²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. S. K. Patil replied on 21 January 1960 that most of the land near the Rajasthan Canal already belonged to Government; about machinery, he would write to other Ministries, the Planning Commission, and Sukhadia.

41. I. A. Benediktov.

42. This letter was copied to V. T. Krishnamachari.

71. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Financing State Farms⁴³

Bangalore
January 15, 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

Your letter of January 5th⁴⁴ came to me a few days ago and I spoke to you about it.

I am broadly in agreement with your suggestion to put up some mechanised farms in the Rajasthan area which will be supplied by the Rajasthan Canal. In fact, I have spoken about this previously to you and some other colleagues of mine. I am sending copies of your letter to S.K. Patil, our Minister of Food & Agriculture, and to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.⁴⁵

The question of financing this will, of course, be rather difficult and presumably it can only be done out of credits from the Soviets. The present credits have already been fully utilised. Whether we should ask for special credits in the future for mechanised farms from the Soviets is a matter to be carefully considered.

In any event, I think we should keep this land under State control and not divide it up. If once we give it over to other people, then it will be difficult to organise these State Farms.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

72. To S.K. Patil: A Bombay-Madhya Pradesh Food Zone?⁴⁶

Bangalore
January 17, 1960

My dear S. K.,

Dr. Katju⁴⁷ has been speaking to me here about your suggestion to have a single zone of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh. Possibly he had a talk with you on this subject also. He is greatly exercised about it and fears that if such a food zone

43. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. File No. 31(101)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

44. See Appendix 4.

45. See item 70.

46. Letter. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

47. Kailas Nath Katju, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

is established soon, a dangerous situation might well be created in Madhya Pradesh, or certain parts of it. Already there are rumblings all over the State. I see from an Intelligence report that the Communist Party have taken this matter up especially and are bent on creating widespread trouble. The other parties might or might not indulge in any such agitation, but they will certainly sympathise with it. I suppose it is inevitable that if there is such a single zone, the price will rise considerably all over Madhya Pradesh. The benefit of this rise will go chiefly to the traders and very little to the agriculturists. Madhya Pradesh has a very large Adivasi or tribal population, and most of these persons are probably the poorest in India. They would be especially hit by this and their feelings could easily be exploited by an agitation, and this might well lead to a grave law and order situation in various parts of the State.

In view of this, it seems to me that this matter requires very careful consideration. In theory, it is obviously desirable to aim at a uniformity of prices in the whole of India. Whether in practice this can be done everywhere, would naturally depend on all manner of local circumstances.⁴⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Industry

73. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Industrial Projects for Madras State⁴⁹

January 1, 1960

My dear V.T.,

I have received two letters from R. Venkataraman, Minister for Industries in Madras State. As a matter of fact, Subramaniam⁵⁰ also spoke to me about these two matters today.

One of these letters deals with the establishment of an aluminium plant at Salem. It appears that there is some difference of opinion between the Planning Commission and the Madras Government about the rate to be charged for electric energy. I can say nothing from my knowledge what the rate should be. But if

48. For Patil's reply of 21 January 1960, see Appendix 11.

49. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. File No. 17(96)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

50. C. Subramanian, Minister of Finance, Education and Law in Madras State.

the Madras Electricity Board has agreed to charge a certain rate, then, normally, we should accept this. There is a great deal of criticism of delays because of matters being hung up at the Centre.

Also it seems that negotiations have advanced very far in Madras and public statements have been made about this scheme. In view of all this, I suggest that we allow them to go ahead with their scheme. The responsibility is theirs.

The second matter is about the Madras Government inviting two experts from East Germany for the purpose of advising them about the feasibility of an iron and steel plant. I see no objection to their doing so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. To the National Institute of Sciences in Bombay: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary⁵¹

Industrial Base; Nehru's Appeal
Vital for Country's Progress

Prime Minister Nehru said here, today, that India would not be able to achieve all-round progress unless she first built up a proper industrial base by adopting recent developments in the field of science and technology.

India's most important task today was to build a form of modern society by changing many of the traditional ways of production and replacing them with modern methods, he said.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing the 25th anniversary general meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India, here, said that in many of the advanced countries of the world, pressures of wars had inevitably led to development of science and technology. But in India it was the advent of freedom that gave a "big push" to progress and a great deal had been achieved by this country during the past few years.

However, he said, India's march towards progress was to some extent hampered by the lack of a proper industrial base which forced the country to give the topmost priority to first achieving this base.

Mr. Nehru said that since the achievement of freedom several "domains" had been built in which India's scientists could work for the greater progress of

51. Report of speech, Bombay, 2 January 1960. From *The Hindu*, 3 January 1960.

the country. These were the universities, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the National Laboratories, the Defence Science Institutes and the Atomic Energy Establishment.

He said he sometimes felt that Indian universities did not progress as much as they should, because many of them dealt with subjects of general interest. Science was a vast subject which was growing vaster and vaster day after day and it would be better if the universities concentrated on specialised subjects. That would also help in better utilising the meagre resources available.

Moreover, Mr. Nehru said, greater emphasis should be laid on equipment and giving opportunities to young scientists for research. For, he said, without research, no teacher would be able to help his pupils in the study of science. He could not do it by merely imparting knowledge acquired from books.

Mr. Nehru said the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay had, since its inception, produced a far greater number of young scientists than many of the universities put together. The quality of the scientists produced by this organisation had been recognised at several international conferences held on the subject.

In fact, he said, it would be seen that India had achieved considerable progress in the field of atomic energy particularly considering that she did not have the advantage of an industrial base on which she could progress. Nobody could claim that India's progress in this direction was of the highest order, but it was remarkable that she was able to achieve this much within such a short space of time as two or three years. This was recognised by several advanced countries of the world and Indian scientists compared favourably with those from other Western countries.

75. To Congress Workers in Bombay⁵²

WORK FOR QUICKER INDUSTRIALISATION NEHRU'S EXHORTATION TO CONGRESSMEN

Prime Minister Nehru today called on Congress workers here to realise the need for quickening the pace of industrialisation in the country and strive towards that end.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a Congress workers' meeting, said that the country was passing through different stages of industrial revolution but its

52. Report of speech, Bombay, 3 January 1960. From *National Herald*, 4 January 1960.

rate of progress had to increase if the goal was to be achieved soon. Socialism could be established effectively only through industrial revolution in the modern age. Political democracy should be backed by economic progress to help the people progress towards socialism, he added.

In fact, the former could not last long if it was not backed by the latter, he said.

Mr. Ratilal M. Gandhi, president of the Bombay Regional Congress Committee, who presided on the occasion, passed on to the Prime Minister a paper containing two questions. One of them related to the relation between the ruling party and its administrative wing and the other to the five-year plans.

The Prime Minister said that they were good questions and it was necessary for Congressmen to understand clearly what should be the relationship between the party wing and its administrative wing. It was evident that the party and its government should have the same goal and policies. There could, however, be differences over its implementation, particularly with reference to the manner of reaching the goal.

The Congress, Pandit Nehru said, had declared the country's goal long before it came to power. The governments, both at the Centre and the states, had also accepted this goal. The Constitution itself had laid it down as the socialistic co-operative commonwealth.

SOCIALISM

Pandit Nehru, who was speaking in Hindi, said that he was afraid of some words because they were used by the people without properly understanding their significance. Socialism was one such word.

India, he said, was marching step by step towards its goal of socialistic state. Many other countries in the world had also adopted socialism as their goal. But while considering the rate of progress in each country the conditions existing in the respective country had to be taken into consideration.

England with its 150 years Industrial Revolution experience had definitely a better start. Now, India wanted to reach the same goal, but it had to reach it in a much shorter period. So, methods different from those used in the U.K. had to be adopted here. Those methods have largely to depend on local conditions in each country.

In any society, the Prime Minister said, people wanted equal opportunities for all types of progress. At present, such opportunities did not exist in this country. The children of the rich had better opportunities than those of the poor.

BASIC NEEDS

But the more important factor was that all persons should be in a position to meet their basic needs like food, housing and clothing. Pandit Nehru said that he considered the fulfilling of these basic needs as very important.

While countries all over the world irrespective of their ideologies had realised the need for fulfilling the basic needs of the people, Pandit Nehru said, the Indian capitalists had still not recognised it.

The Indian capitalists, he said, should remember that even capitalist countries like the USA and Germany had accepted these basic needs of the people. The differences between the various sections of the people in those countries were not as wide as in this country.

Pandit Nehru said that India wanted a society in which there could be equality among the people. People demanded equality in sharing wealth and welfare and not poverty. So real equality could be brought about only by increasing the wealth of the nation and not merely by transferring the wealth from one pocket to another. Socialism could be brought about only when there were things for distribution.

SIZE OF POPULATION

Referring to industrial revolutions in the USA and the Soviet Union, the Prime Minister said one fact to remember was that these countries had higher standards of living even before the revolutions took place. Further their present progress had to be viewed in the light of the size and population. The USA was three times as big as India with half the latter's population. Similarly, the Soviet Union too was about six to seven times larger than India with half the population of this country.

So, the people in these countries had greater natural resources for development than India. These facts alone were sufficient, to prove that the methods which this country should use for its progress should be different from those adopted in the USA and the USSR. However India could richly draw on their experiences, he added.

Pandit Nehru advised the Congress workers to explain these facts to the general public.

COMMUNISTS

Pandit Nehru said the one thing that he did not like about the Indian Communists was their faith that progress could be made only through "violence."

In the modern world, the Prime Minister said, powerful nations, to whichever bloc they belonged, had realised that nothing could be achieved through "fights and battles." When this was the case, the thinking of the Indian Communists appeared to be out of tune.

HARD WORK NEEDED

Referring to the Five Year Plans, Pandit Nehru said through the plans the Government tried to provide equal opportunities to the people in the economic field.

If people wanted the rate of progress of the industrial revolution through which the country was already passing to increase, then they should work harder, save money and invest more. Greater effort on the part of the people was the need of the hour.

The rate of increase in wealth, Pandit Nehru said, should always exceed the rate of increase of population. The harder the people worked the sooner they could reach their goal, he added.

Pandit Nehru said the aim of all planning was to co-ordinate the activities of the developing spheres and to estimate the dividends that the country could expect by the proper utilisation of its resources.

EXAMPLE OF GERMANY

Pandit Nehru praised the people of Germany for their hard working nature and asked Indians to follow their example. After the last war, he said, the Germans worked for twelve hours or even more per day so that their country could regain its lost glory. They had succeeded in reaching that goal in less than twelve years' time, he added.

The approach of the Congress worker in removing the difficulties of the people, Pandit Nehru said, should be a constructive one. He deplored the methods used by the opposition in this connection and said that by mere shouting, staging strikes and resorting to hunger-strikes things could not be improved.

Pandit Nehru said that the Government were giving their special attention to remove defects in the administrative machinery. The administrative apparatus, he said, was basically sound and the personnel manning it were not bad.

The difficulty, he said, was that the frame-work of the administration was laid down by the British with the purpose of collecting tax and for maintenance of peace. With the advent of independence and the acceptance of socialism as the goal of the country, the nature of work expected from the services had changed. Our administrative personnel were good and capable of rising to the occasion.

The only real complaint of the people could be against the slow pace at which the governmental machinery moved either in taking decisions or in their implementation. The existing method provided checks and counter-checks so that the administration could be sound. But the trouble was that there were too many checks and they themselves retarded the progress of the nation.

These defects, Pandit Nehru said, could be removed with proper division of responsibility among the employees of the Government.

The Prime Minister made a passing reference to the proposed bifurcation of the Bombay state into unilingual states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. He said that he knew that some people did not like the division of the state and he himself was one of those who liked the bilingual state to continue. However, he did not like to impose his will on others.

He appealed to the people to sink their differences of opinion on the proposed splitting up of the state and matters connected with it and to co-operate with the administration in the implementation of the decision.

Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister, and Mr. K.K. Shah, former President of the Bombay Regional Congress Committee were among those present on the occasion.

76. To Vishnu Sahay: Coordinating Defence and Other Industries⁵³

I enclose a letter I have received from the President of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry⁵⁴ and a copy of my reply to him.⁵⁵ Some time ago, the Minister of Industry⁵⁶ also wrote to me broadly on this subject, that is, the desirability of coordination between our defence industries and other industries. These other industries would include our public sector industries as also the private sector ones.

2. It is clearly desirable to investigate all possibilities of industrial advance. I am convinced that the field is so vast that there is room for everyone. I am, however, a little apprehensive of controversies arising between the people of

53. Note to CS, 13 January 1960. File No. 17(381)/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

54. Madanmohan R. Ruia.

55. See item 77.

56. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

private sector and our public sector. I remember such a controversy when the Defence Ministry took up the building of trucks. They made those trucks at about eight thousand rupees less than the price charged from them by the private sector, and they made them quickly, while the private sector people could not even fulfil the orders placed on them by the Defence. As a matter of fact, these trucks produced by the Defence Ministry did not go to private people at all. They were absorbed by the Defence Ministry. They could, of course, also be supplied to any State Government if they needed them.

3. Here was a special instance of a conflict between the interests of the private sector and our public sector. The former appeared to think that it was their special privilege to make these trucks or anything else at a much higher rate than was necessary. Some of our newspapers supported them, and there were even questions in Parliament. And yet, it appears to me that the Defence Ministry have justified the claim they made of making these trucks rapidly and more cheaply.

4. This kind of controversy might well arise in regard to other matters, and I should like, as far as possible, to avoid it. The market is a large enough one for both the sectors, and I think it is a good thing for a measure of competition to come in. This competition will be good both for the public and the private sectors. It seems to me that the real reason why the private sector dislikes public sector coming in is that this tends to show up the high prices charged by the private sector and consequently the high profits made. Otherwise, there is no reason why they should complain.

5. Nevertheless, I feel that we must endeavour to investigate all possibilities of coordinated development. The first step should be for coordination between defence factories and other public sector plants. Indeed, most of the major plants are in the public sector. The second step would be to consider how far there can be coordination between all these public sector factories, including the defence, and the private sector.

6. Some, though not all, of the defence industries are supposed to be run on a confidential basis. Indeed, this is a term of agreement between them and some foreign firms. I would not, therefore, like representatives of private sector to roam about our defence factories. What I am a little apprehensive about is that, because of a certain bias and dislike of public enterprises, they might utilise such visits merely to criticise.

7. Anyhow, we should make a beginning. I suggest to you to discuss this matter of coordination with the Defence Ministry and the Commerce and Industry Ministry. To begin with, the nature of the work that is being done or that can be done in our public sector, should be broadly examined. The private sector will come in later into the picture. This should be done after reference to

the Ministers concerned, that is, the Minister of Defence,⁵⁷ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, and the Minister of Industry. I have, in fact, mentioned this matter to the Minister of Defence. Naturally, the real talks can only take place between engineers and experts.

8. After a preliminary survey, we can consider what further steps we should take.

77. To Madanmohan Ruia: Private Sector's Contribution to Defence⁵⁸

Bangalore

January 13, 1960

Dear Shri Ruia,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th January and the assurance you have given to me on behalf of your Federation.⁵⁹

So far as the Third Plan is concerned, it will certainly lay stress on basic industries, apart from the inevitable stress on agriculture. Our Defence industries have made great progress in the course of the last year or two, and our Defence Science Department has particularly done very good work. I have just been

57. V. K. Krishna Menon.

58. Letter to the President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. File No. 17(381)/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

59. Madanmohan Ruia wrote: "The Federation wholeheartedly endorses your approach, and would reiterate its determination to place the resources and experience of the business community at your disposal in this task. While, therefore, we are anxious and keen to contribute our mite, we would like to be taken into confidence to the thinking and programme of the Government in regard to augmenting our defence potential—not merely the forces and arms but also the industrial base. Although it is generally known that the Third Plan will be industrially-oriented, with the emphasis on basic and machine-building industries, we do not know as to what Government expect the industries to do in the interim period and even in the period of the Third Five year Plan, in regard to specific defence industries. You will appreciate that if the country has to keep itself in a state of preparedness, all the sectors of the economy have to be geared to the building up of all types of industries. Even to ward off the danger of a major conflict, the country needs to have various equipment and materials, and the production of which has to be taken in hand immediately. We wish to know as to what you and your Government expect us to do in order to meet these requirements. I realise that this is not a matter which can be discussed through correspondence but my idea is to raise this point so that if you agree with our line of thinking, we could discuss these various problems in a meeting of some representatives of the Federation with you."

visiting some of our Defence establishments, and I have been much struck by the ability of our scientists, engineers and technical men. There is much room for them to expand.

I agree with you, however, that all sectors of our economy have to be geared up to the building up of all types of industries. There is a vast field open for this purpose, and we should try to take advantage of all the possibilities open to us. This matter will no doubt be considered more fully by our Ministries concerned.⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. At the Premier Tyre Factory at Kalamasseri, Ernakulam⁶¹

Mr. Governor,⁶² Mr. Desai,⁶³ Mr. Freeland and Friends,

As you perhaps know, I have come here to Kerala just for part of an afternoon and I am going back in about roughly about an hour or so, back to Bangalore. Nevertheless, I am glad that during this brief visit this particular function could be included and I could convey to you my own and our Government's good wishes for this venture.

May I first of all, confess my ignorance about this venture, that is to say, till two or three days ago I was told about it. I did not know anything about it beforehand. That, of course, is entirely my fault. But when I heard of it and found out what it was all about, I was pleased that this has been started and this combination of state help, private enterprise, and cooperation and help from the United States, from a well-known firm there, was a happy mixture for this type of work and it is something that ought to yield good results for all concerned.

I am particularly glad that this has been started in Kerala because it was rather a surprise for me that a state like this which on the face of it offers so many openings for industrial advance should remain rather backward in that respect. There is a very high standard of education, and I believe, some resources here—other resources. Anyhow, I have felt that once it makes a move it will go forward with fair ability. It is a lovely place, of course, the loveliest in India.

60. See also item 76.

61. Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Premier Tyre Factory, Kalamasseri, Ernakulam, 18 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

62. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

63. Morarji Desai.

Another thing that I have listened to with some satisfaction is that this factory is being started in rural surroundings although, of course, there is hardly any surrounding in Kerala which are not rural. It is difficult to describe Kerala apart from one or two smallish towns. It is all spread out village. But hardly a gap between one village and another. It is very attractive way of spreading out the population. Anyhow, I do say we should avoid as far as possible, adding to the farms and factories in big cities. It should go to our rural areas or to the small towns, that is how we develop much more, instead of adding it to the congestion in big cities.

Anyhow, I am glad to be associated with this function and I congratulate all those concerned with it including, of course, the State and the people of Kerala who I hope will profit by it. Now, I propose to perform the important ceremony of spreading some cement.

(e) Labour

79. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Trichur Factory Fire and Unemployed Workers⁶⁴

January 1, 1960

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I have received a letter from Shri T.C.N. Menon, M.P.,⁶⁵ in which he says that the Sitaram Mills, at Trichur has been destroyed by fire and two thousand workers are actually starving. He wants some help through the Trichur Collector. I shall gladly send some money to you or to the Collector for this purpose, if you advise me to do so. Please let me know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. Letter to the Governor of Kerala.

65. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Mukundapuram, Kerala.

80. To J.R.D. Tata: Air India International Pilots' Strike⁶⁶

Bangalore
January 13, 1960

[My dear Jehangir,]

Thank you for your letter of the 11th January about the Air-India Pilots' strike. This has reached me here at Bangalore today.

Even without knowing any of the facts of this case, it seemed to me that the strike of the Air-India pilots was very improper. This international air service is a public utility, and no step should ever be taken in a public utility which causes grave inconvenience to the public, and without adequate notice. After reading what you have written, my original opinion is confirmed. I am surprised at the irresponsibility of the Pilots' Guild.

You know perhaps that our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, was to have travelled by the Air-India International to London, and his passage had been booked. Just that day, the strike occurred, and Dr. Radhakrishnan had to be transferred to the B.O.A.C. flight.

I do not know what I can do in this matter. I am naturally distressed, and I can well understand how pained you must have been. The attitude you have taken up appears to me to be correct. I do not see what else you could have done in the circumstances. I hope that the pilots will realise their grave error and retrace their steps.⁶⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. Letter to the Chairman of Air India International. On 8 June 1962, the Airline's name was officially truncated to Air India.

67. *The Times of India* explained it as a dispute over seniority in appointments and assignments. Air India had selected one V. R. Gilder for jet training in America; the Guild protested that seniority should have determined selection; but Air India argued that he was the only one qualified as he alone had received simulator training. J. R. D. Tata offered arbitration, but the Guild refused it. The strike was called off on 16 January after eight days. See *The Times of India*, 9, 12, 13, and 17 January 1960.

(f) Education**81. Youth for Defence⁶⁸**

I am glad that the Youth Congress is bringing out a special supplement on "Youth and Defence of the Nation". This subject is always of interest, but now it is of importance also. There is much talk by young people of offering themselves for defence, but it is not always realised that this means very hard work and good physique. It may also mean capacity to live at high altitudes in very cold weather. What is necessary today is for large-scale hard training of our youth which would make them both fitter and capable of enduring hardships. Some such schemes of training are likely to be put forward and I hope that they will have a good response.

82. To the Ministry of Education: Physical Efficiency Drive⁶⁹

I am glad to learn that the Ministry of Education has prepared a scheme for launching a national physical efficiency drive based on certain graded physical tests.⁷⁰ For many years I have favoured some such scheme and, therefore, I welcome this move. It is an unhappy fact that the physical fitness of our people generally is very low. Whatever objectives we may have in regard to national development, physical fitness must be the foundation of progress.

I wish this scheme and drive every success.

68. Message to Puran Singh Azad of the AICC, Bombay, 3 January 1960.

69. Message, 6 January 1960. File No. 40(193)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

70. K. L. Shrimali, the Minister of Education, informed Nehru on 5 January that, as recommended by the Central Advisory Board of Physical Education and Recreation, his Ministry was launching a National Physical Efficiency drive scheme on 12 February 1960. He invited Nehru to the valedictory function.

83. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: A Caste Engineering College⁷¹

Bangalore
January 12, 1960

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I send you a letter I have received. I do not know anything about this matter. But, prima facie, it would hardly be desirable for the proposed Engineering College at Palghat to be handed over to a society belonging to one caste group.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

84. To S.R. Das: Patha Bhavan in Visva-Bharati⁷²

Bangalore
January 14, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of January 10th with which you have sent me the reply from Shri C. D. Deshmukh.

I entirely agree with you that the Patha Bhavan has to continue as a part of Visva-Bharati. If, after enquiry, the University Grants Commission agree to this, then no further difficulty arises. If, however, they do not agree, then I suppose one of two steps will have to be taken. One is, as you have said, to widen the definition of the University. I would rather avoid having to go to Parliament for an amendment of the old Act.

The other course would be to provide separate funds for the Patha Bhavan. I do not think there will be much difficulty about this as we are likely to raise some considerable sum of money for Visva-Bharati in connection with the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

71. Letter to the Governor of Kerala.

72. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati. File No. 40(9)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

85. To Vishnu Sahay: Ministries of Education and Culture⁷³

I agree with what you have written.

2. When the Education Ministry was divided into two Ministries, it was inevitable that any particular subject should be put in charge of one Ministry. But I have a recollection that even then I pointed out that these two Ministries should consult with each other fully in any matter concerning both and should arrive at joint decisions. In a case like the appointment of Educational Officers attached to the High Commission in London, this is particularly necessary. The fact that the Education Ministry is in administrative charge of the Education Departments in our Missions abroad, does not absolve it from the necessity of consulting the Ministry of S.R. and C.A.

3. It is obvious that students who go abroad from India for study take up various subjects, among them being scientific and technical subjects. Indeed, the general trend is for more students to take up scientific and technical subjects. In regard to these students, the Ministry of S.R. and C.A. is necessarily interested.

4. Where there are two posts in the Education Department in a Mission abroad, it seems to me the natural course for them to be shared between our two Ministries, that is, for one of them to be a scientifically or technically qualified person.

5. Of course, there are other aspects of these questions to be kept in view, such as convenience etc. The High Commissioner should be consulted.

86. To Rathindranath Tagore: Dysfunctional Society⁷⁴

Bangalore

January 17, 1960

My dear Rathin Babu,

Your letter of December 27th in which you suggested that I might nominate three persons to the Samsad of the Society. I have been trying to find out about these vacancies. I am informed that the Society has hardly been functioning for a considerable time, and apparently the vacancies have been there for an equally long time. You will remember that there was a meeting of the Society at

73. Note to CS, Bangalore, 14 January 1960.

74. Letter to the General Secretary, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. File No. 40(9)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Santiniketan last month and, so far as I remember, there was some proposal to reorganise it. In view of this, it seems to me that it would be better for us to wait for this reorganisation before any nominations are made.⁷⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

87. To Vishnu Sahay: Shrimali and Saiyidain at Loggerheads⁷⁶

I wonder if you know of certain developments in the Education Ministry. The Minister of Education⁷⁷ asked for an explanation from the Secretary, Shri Saiyidain,⁷⁸ about various matters. He then sent me a copy of the letter he had addressed to the Secretary. I did not wish to interfere, and sent him no reply.

2. Many days later, Shri Saiyidain came to see me about some other matter and referred to these charges which had been made against him, and said that to his great distress, formal explanations had been asked for about certain petty matters which could easily have been explained. Just before I went to Bangalore, Shri Saiyidain sent me a copy of his reply to the Education Minister. I am sending these papers to you. I do not want you to take any particular step in this matter at present, but I feel, unhappy at the way this whole affair has been treated. Very petty matters appear to have been exaggerated and made the basis of rather serious charges. Reading Shri Saiyidain's reply, I find it, on the whole, adequate.

3. I do not know what the Education Minister proposes to do about this. If you could informally keep in touch and let me know, I would be grateful.

75. Letter copied to S. R. Das.

76. Note to CS, 19 January 1960.

77. K. L. Shrimali.

78. Khwaja Ghulam Saiyidain.

88. To Brahma Deo Bajpai: Student Union Problems⁷⁹

January 21, 1960

Dear Brahma Deoji,

I have your letter of the 19th January.

Before I left Allahabad, I handed over the papers you had given me, that is the students apology,⁸⁰ etc., to Shri Bahuguna,⁸¹ Deputy Minister, UP, and asked him personally to give them to the Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University.⁸² I was anxious that these papers should reach the Vice Chancellor as early as possible.

I have read the draft of the proposed changes in the Allahabad University Union constitution. I have no particular comments to offer. My own view for a long time past has been that the system of compulsory membership of the Union is not a good one. A Union should be a voluntary organisation as it is in the English Universities and elsewhere.

I am anxious, of course, that these conflicts and troubles in the educational world should cease and we should have some measure of harmony there. I appreciate greatly the work you are doing to this end and I hope it will bear fruit. You will notice, however, what has happened now in Lucknow.⁸³ The disease seems to be deep-seated and education becomes a farce if it is accompanied by this kind of conflict and misbehavior.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

79. Letter to Brahma Deo Bajpai of Allahabad Sarvodaya Mandal, Allahabad.

80. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 199 & 263.

81. Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna.

82. Shri Ranjan.

83. According to press reports, the University was closed from 10 December 1959 to 4 February 1960 following conflict between the Vice-Chancellor, K. A. S. Iyer, and the Students' Union. Iyer had invited the police on to the campus and seven students had been arrested. Eventually, he reinstated these students and resigned his position.

89. To K.L. Shrimali: National Service Scheme⁸⁴

24th January, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Only last evening I wrote to you⁸⁵ acknowledging the receipt of the draft report of the National Service Committee.⁸⁶ I then said that it might take me some time to go through it. I have, as a matter of fact, read it. I like the report. I entirely agree with the broad approach and generally the objectives aimed at. I think that any such scheme has necessarily to be compulsory and should be for a sufficient period. I entirely agree that there should be no exemptions on any account whatever.

From the point of view of University education, it seems to me clear that the students who are going to universities at present are not old enough or mature enough and if they go a little later it will be all the better for them. I do not understand why there is no fixed lower age limit for the universities such as 17 plus.

I also agree that the stage for such training should be the end of the higher secondary school or the pre-university class.

While the report seems to me an excellent one, much will have to be done in working it out and filling in the details of the study and work to be done during this period. Indeed, in the report itself it is suggested that a detailed plan should be made.

If there is any such compulsory scheme, then I suppose we should consider our other camps etc. that we set up for the young. We need not duplicate this business. Of course, some camps for special purposes may continue.

I entirely agree that there should be military discipline. It is not possible to have such discipline except under a military commandant. None of us civilians can maintain a standard of military discipline. I know that some people in our country are opposed to this type of discipline and think that it is adequate for teachers and professors to be put in charge for a camp. I do not agree with this. Of course, so far as the actual study work is concerned, teachers will be in charge.

84. Letter to the Education Minister. File No. 2(260)/58-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

85. Shrimali referred to Nehru's letter of 9 June 1958 to Chief Ministers, [See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 798-799], calling for a national service scheme for the young. On Nehru's orders the Education Ministry had prepared such a scheme, a committee under C. D. Deshmukh was appointed in August 1959 to work out details, and it had concluded that the service should be for nine months and compulsory.

86. See Appendix 12.

Although your report is in a draft and tentative stage and will be considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education early next month, I think that in order to avoid delay there will be no harm done if it is circulated to Cabinet Ministers and Chief Ministers of States. I am therefore asking the Cabinet Secretary⁸⁷ to send a copy of this to the Cabinet Ministers and also to the Chief Ministers of States, pointing out that this is a draft report which will be considered soon by the Central Advisory Board of Education. I hope you do not mind my doing so. It is desirable that people should be given some time to give thought to these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. To Vishnu Sahay: National Service Scheme⁸⁸

I am sending you a draft report of the National Service Committee which was set up by the Ministry of Education.⁸⁹ This is only a tentative draft and this is going to be considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education early next month. I feel, however, that it will be worthwhile for this report to be circulated to Members of the Cabinet even at this stage so that they might give thought to it and be prepared for a discussion on this subject when the time comes. Please therefore circulate it to Members of the Cabinet and also to the Minister of SR & CA.⁹⁰ Also to Chief Ministers of States.

2. You might state in a covering note that you are doing so at my request even though this report is a draft which is being considered still. As the subject is of great importance and has far-reaching consequences, I should like the Ministers concerned to give earnest thought to it even at this stage.

87. See item 90.

88. Note to CS, 24 January 1960. File No. 2(260)/58-70-PMS.

89. See item 89.

90. Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

(g) Culture

91. To Humayun Kabir: Murshidabad Palace⁹¹

January 7, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I enclose an anonymous letter which I have received.⁹²

I have just received your letter of the 6th January about the Murshidabad Palace. This matter is rather complicated, and I should like to give much further thought to it. Unfortunately I am leaving Delhi and shall be more or less away for nearly two weeks.

My first reaction is that Dr. Roy's proposal is not feasible. I agree with you that it is very difficult for some kind of joint administration. Also the sum involved is a large one, and we have to think carefully how we can find this.⁹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. To Children in Bangalore⁹⁴

Now I am going to speak a few words in English and a few words in Hindi and my friend and colleague Mr. Jatti will translate them into Kannada.

My dear children, I am very happy to be here with you today, and I thank you for your loving welcome.

You live here in the beautiful city of Bangalore; which has lovely flowers and very beautiful trees. I hope you like flowers and trees. I want you all to be like those beautiful flowers. And all of us live in this great big fine country, Bharat, India. All of us should therefore try to be flowers in the garden of India. We have to make our country a fine garden in which there are plenty of beautiful flowers, so that every child in India grows up in this garden and helps to maintain that garden.

Now I am going to say something in Hindi.

91. Letter to the Union Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

92. See Appendix 5 (a).

93. See Appendix 5 (b).

94. Speech, Bangalore, 13 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

प्यारे बच्चों,

आज यहाँ आकर और तुम सब लोगों से मिलकर बहुत खुशी हुई। तुम्हारा प्यार और उत्साह देखकर मेरा दिल खुश हुआ। तुम जानते हो कि हम सब इस महान देश भारत में रहते हैं। और हम सब, छोटे और बड़े, भारत के छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े हैं। और हम सब लोगों को मिलकर भारत को सुंदर बनाना है। और ऐसा बनाना है जिससे सब लोग भारत में जो रहते हैं वो मिलजुल कर रहें। और विशेषकर जितने भारत के बच्चे हैं, वो सब, उनकी उन्नति का, बढ़ने का, खेलने-कूदने का, पढ़ने-लिखने का मौका मिले। मैंने सुना है कि यहाँ बंगलोर में एक सुन्दर बाल भवन या चिल्ड्रन प्लेस बनने वाला है। यह तो बहुत अच्छा है और आजकल हमारे यहाँ जो प्लेसेज़ हैं वो बच्चों के लिए होने चाहिए, बड़े आदमियों के लिए नहीं। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि जैसे बंगलोर में ऐसा बच्चों का पैलेस बने, वैसा ही हमारे देश भर में हो। क्योंकि सब बच्चों को अवसर मिले, मौका मिले ऐसी जगह देखने का, वहाँ खेलने का और सीखने का। याद रखो कि इस बड़े देश भारत, हिन्दुस्तान में हम सब लोग एक बड़े परिवार के हैं। जो लोग हमारे देश में रहते हैं, चाहे उनका धर्म कोई हो, सब हमारे बड़े परिवार में हैं। और सब लोगों को मिलकर प्रेम से काम करना है कि हमारे देश की उन्नति हो, और यहाँ के बाल-बच्चे खूब अच्छी तरह से बढ़ें। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि तुम सब खूब खेलोगे, कूदोगे, पढ़ोगे और सीखोगे। सब बातें साथ-साथ होनी चाहिए। हमारा पढ़ना खेल होना चाहिए और हमारा खेलना पढ़ना होना चाहिए। आज बहुत-बहुत तुम सब लोगों को सब बच्चों को मेरा प्यार और अशीर्वाद। आप लोगों में

[Translation begins:

Dear Children,

It gave me immense pleasure to come here and meet you. I am very happy having seen your love and excitement. As you know we live in a big country, Bharat, and whether big or small we are a part of it. We have to make India beautiful and conducive for harmonious living. Every child of India should progress by getting equal opportunity to play and learn. I have heard that in Bangalore a beautiful Children's Palace is to be built. This is very good sign for these days palaces in India should be for children and not adults. However I want more palaces like this one all over India so that every child can have this opportunity to learn and play. Always keep this in mind that in a vast country like India we are a big family irrespective of the religion we follow. We must live in complete harmony, as a big family in which the children will have equal share, in order to progress. So I hope that you will learn and play in a proper and balanced way. Our study should be like play and our play should be like study. Lots of love and blessings to all of you.

Translation ends.]

You have given me a large number of purses. I suppose they are for this Bal Bhavan. This money will be used for helping, giving food and clothing to needy children, all this money. If some of you have not been able to hand over your collection, you can bring them to the platform after I have gone. They will be received here.

Thank you.

93. To Subimal Dutt: Design of Huen Tsang Memorial⁹⁵

If it is not possible to have the full old Chinese design, can we not try to have some simpler Chinese design?⁹⁶ Our architects might try to evolve something which is feasible here and yet which keeps some features of the old design.⁹⁷

94. To B. V. Keskar: No Censoring of Documentary on Gandhi's Funeral⁹⁸

Bangalore,
January 18, 1960

My dear Keskar,

R.R. Diwakar⁹⁹ came to see me today and told me that the Film Censor Board had objected to certain shots in the brief documentary film called "The Last Journey". This is on two grounds; (i) the shots of wounds on Gandhiji's body

95. Note to FS, 15 January 1969. File No. 4(5)-EA/57, MEA.

96. S. Dutt wrote to Nehru on 14 January 1960: "It seems to me that if we persist with our idea of putting up a structure which is to embody Chinese features, we shall not be able to do so without much further delay. The last letter which we received from our Embassy is dated October 23, 1959. It was then stated that the Chinese Government promised to render all possible assistance. Chang Han Fu said that 'they would consult their specialists and contact the Embassy after that.' In view of our present relations with China, we cannot press the Chinese Government too hard. It is therefore for consideration whether we should not put up a structure according to our own design." See also SWJN/SS/46/pp. 494 & 498.

97. S. Dutt noted on 18 January 1960: "This matter has been hanging fire for a long time. I suggest that JS discusses this matter at a meeting at high level with officers of the WH&S Ministry including the Architect and the Chief Engineer. We must reach a final decision without further delay."

98. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting. File No. 43(146)/60-72-PMS. Also available in JN collection.

99. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, and President, Gandhi Peace Foundation.

should not be shown, and (ii) the funeral pyre should not be shown.

I do not know what the rules are which cover decisions of the Film Censor Board. But I entirely disagree with this particular decision of the Film Board. Here is a documentary film of a historic event and to cut it out like this will be highly objectionable.

I hope you will look into this matter as soon as possible.¹⁰⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

95. To G. C. Sondhi: Location of Embassy Libraries¹⁰¹

January 19, 1960

My dear Sondhi,

I have your letter of January 9th.

We have made a rule that foreign Embassies or Consulates should not open libraries under their control at places other than where their office is situated. We must abide by this rule which is of general application. It will be difficult for us to differentiate between one foreign mission and another. If once we break the rule, we shall have any number of requests of this kind from various Embassies or Consulates.

But we shall have no objection to a gift of books or other equipment for a library being given to you or to your committee by the U.S.I.S. for a local library to be established at Jullundur, under a local committee. This means that the library is entirely a local affair and this receives some gifts from the United States sources.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

100. See Appendix 10.

101. Letter to a resident of Jullundur City.

96. Svetoslav Roerich's Paintings Exhibition¹⁰²

Friends,

I suppose you know that I am interloper here more or less, that is to say, this function could have been performed by a much better person, more suitable person, our Vice-President Dr Radhakrishnan. But as he had to go away, go abroad and he is not in the country now, this privilege is fallen on me. In fact, it was Dr Radhakrishnan's wish and almost demand, that I should do this, naturally I had to agree, and I am glad that I agreed although I feel a little bit inhibited about this. Because I do not know whether I can say anything particularly appropriate or suitable about this Exhibition of an old friend and a great artist, not being myself in any sense an expert at judging these things. I cannot talk learnedly or wisely about them. I can only express certain reactions, certain kind of emotions it produces in me and that too, rather in a confused manner.

It was about eighteen years ago, as far as I remember, when I met Svetoslav Roerich¹⁰³ and his father¹⁰⁴ and mother,¹⁰⁵ and in fact they invited me to spend a few days at their Kulu house, which my daughter and I went to. It was then that I got first acquainted with Professor Roerich, his father, in those lovely surroundings of the Kulu valley. It was then also that Svetoslav started making a portrait of me and I might mention informally that I have not seen it yet [Laughter], although I believe it exists somewhere. That itself shows, apart from many other things, what a retiring and restrained person Svetoslav is. He has not pushed himself anywhere, he has worked quietly in accordance with his genius, trying to put himself in harmony with the surroundings he was in, whether it was the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, or the red earth of Malabar, or any other part of India. On the one hand putting himself in touch with these environments, on the other hand leaping forward into all manner of directions, future, past, present, and trying to mix them up into one composite whole. And all this produces, has produced as I was looking at so many of his pictures just before coming here, the strange sensation, one of beauty, of course, one of harmony and one of some peculiar depths which one tries to understand, at any

102. Speech inaugurating the Exhibition, 20 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. *The Hindu* of 21 January 1960 reported that 120 items, portraits, landscapes, and scenes from Indian life were exhibited. The portraits included those of Nehru, S. Radhakrishnan, and C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

103. Russian artist.

104. Nicholas Roerich.

105. Helena Roerich.

rate, I tried to, but which I cannot express except that it produces that sensation in me.

Obviously, we have here in this Exhibition something very remarkable and something not only beautiful but lasting which will leave a powerful effect on the minds of those who see it. At any rate, that is the effect it will leave on my mind, and I feel sure most people who see it will feel that way. It is a privilege of people in Delhi and those who come here, to be able to see these paintings which have gradually been made in the course of the last many years and which have, I do not know but which have not often been displayed and therefore, I am glad that I am associated with this inauguration, and I had the pleasure and advantage of seeing them, these pictures, which I hope to see again, I hope, in the course of the next month, while the Exhibition goes on; and I hope that many people, and our artists specially will see them and thereby draw some inspiration, some depth for their own work. As I said, a little while ago, it is rather difficult for me to talk about these matters because I am rather ignorant about them. I react as most people do, I feel good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant impressions come to me, and apart from that something remains at the back of the mind or somewhere, which sticks to it and which comes up again and again. I think Svetoslav's paintings are of that type, which leave that firm impression at the back of the mind, and which are not easily forgotten.

So, it is an event in what might be called, the art life of Delhi, for this one-man Exhibition to be displayed here, and I hope that we shall all profit by it and I hope that the artists will have produced many more beautiful, thoughtful indeed, paintings, in the future. I shall now I am told not at this stage, inaugurate the Exhibition but there is going to be a slight interlude, and then I shall say, I inaugurate the Exhibition [Applause].

Svetoslav Roerich : I wish to express my profound gratitude to our Prime Minister for having graced this occasion in spite of his exceptionally heavy preoccupations. I want to thank him for his kind and beautiful words, which I value so much.

I wish to thank Dr. Kabir, Dr. Rajamannar, Mr. Mathur, all the distinguished guests and friends, who have come here today and all those who have helped in the organisation of this Exhibition. I shall now request the Prime Minister to declare this Exhibition open.

Jawaharlal Nehru : Well, now, I declare this Exhibition open and invite you to a feast of beauty [Applause].

(h) Women

97. To the Women's Journal of AICC¹⁰⁶

In the picture of India as it is today, one of the most pleasing aspects is that of the advance of our women folk. I have always held the opinion that a country's progress can best be measured by the status of its woman. In our independence struggle, the part played by women was of the greatest significance, so also in our present struggle to build up a new India. Indeed there can be no new India unless the women of India participate fully in its making.

I am glad that the Women's section of the AICC is laying stress on this and brings out a publication for this purpose. I wish it every success.

(i) Health

98. To Amrit Kaur: Dikshit vs Duraiswamy at the AIIMS¹⁰⁷

January 7, 1960

My dear Amrit,

I am writing to you in some haste about the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and Dr. Duraiswami.¹⁰⁸ I would have liked to meet you and discuss this matter with you, but I am afraid I cannot do so tomorrow as I am heavily occupied and day after tomorrow I am leaving Delhi for Assam. From Assam I shall go almost directly to Bangalore and come back after the Congress Session.

106. Message, 1 January 1960. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. This was published in the journal *Women on the March*, but the issue has not been traced. Both S. Radhakrishnan and G. B. Pant sent messages, according to the *National Herald* of 14 January 1960, p. 4. Nehru also sent messages of support to B. Tara Bai, Honorary Secretary of the All India Women's Central Food Council, New Delhi, on 13 January, and again on 21 January to the All India Women's Conference which was to begin its 29th Session on 22 January in Madras.

107. Letter to Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, and Former Union Minister of Health. File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Letter copied on 7 January to D. P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of Health.

108. P. K. Duraiswami was a Professor at AIIMS.

I was informed today that the Director of the Institute, Dr. Dikshit,¹⁰⁹ has issued an order to Dr. Duraiswami to hand over all the stores, equipment, including animals, as well as the entire staff within twenty four hours to someone else. That seems to me quite extraordinary an order to be given to anybody who is engaged in the Institute and who is carrying on valuable work and investigations. In the case of Dr. Duraiswami, it is still more unfortunate and objectionable.

It has seemed to me for some time past that Dr. Dikshit is acting vindictively and is bent on creating as much trouble as he can for Dr. Duraiswami.¹¹⁰ I am informed by the Health Ministry that the way Dr. Dikshit deals with them is also objectionable.

You have often reminded me of the autonomous character of this Institute and I have wished to respect it. But I must say that the conviction has been borne in upon me that the Institute or the Director functions in an entirely unsatisfactory way. It seems to me that it might be necessary to have a full enquiry on behalf of Government into the working of this Institute. Dr. Dikshit and the officers of the Institute know well that I have been taking some interest in Dr. Duraiswami's case. Even a little element of courtesy would have required that I should be informed of any major action taken in regard to Dr. Duraiswami. But this is past the range of any personal equation or even of what happens to Duraiswami. The question is whether the Institute has been functioning on proper lines or not and the Government cannot remain a passive spectator when it appears to it that the organisation is entirely unsatisfactory and action is sometimes taken for purely vindictive reasons against eminent people.

I shall take up this matter on my return from the Congress Session.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

109. Balachandra B. Dikshit.

110. See also SWJN/SS/44/pp. 358-361.

99. To the Associations of Physicians and Pediatricians¹¹¹

FREE MEDICAL AID TO COMMUNITY NEHRU SEEKS DOCTORS' CO-OPERATION

NEW DELHI. Jan.-25.-Prime Minister Nehru today called for steps in the direction of affording free medical service to the community and said that whatever be the organisational pattern of such an undertaking the co-operation of the medical profession was essential for its success.

Pandit Nehru was inaugurating a joint annual conference of the Associations of Physicians and Pediatricians, the Cardiological and the Neurological Societies, and the Indian Association for Chest Diseases. Four hundred delegates are attending the five-day conference.

Pandit Nehru said that the rural people got "precious little" by way of Medical aid. If the medical organisation in the country were based mainly on benefiting those who could pay for the service, large sections of the community would be left out. He referred to the "cradle-to-the grave" scheme in the U.K. and the state health schemes in the Soviet Union and said, "we need not copy any country but inevitably we shall have to go in that direction in this country." Whether it was medical assistance or insurance, obviously, the medical profession would have a very large say in the matter. He asked the conference to give thought to this wider problem of public health.

The Prime Minister said that young men and women who graduated in medicine or completed their studies in special fields owed a duty to the society which made it possible for them to acquire specialised knowledge. There should be an absolute rule that every person in the medical profession should put in a year or more in areas which were not properly served.

In this connection, Pandit Nehru also spoke of the need for some kind of compulsory training to young men for a certain period. It would be a good thing, he said, not only from the point of view of raising the physical condition of the trainees but also from that of bringing discipline into their lives and creating a sense of working together.

111. Speech at the inauguration of the joint annual conference, 25 January 1960. From the *National Herald*, 26 January 1960.

DEGREES FOR PRESTIGE

Pandit Nehru disapproved of the tendency for Indian students to go abroad merely for getting some degrees which, according to them, would have prestige value. "We do not want to prevent anyone from acquiring knowledge or training by going abroad but certainly it is objectionable if people go abroad for the reason that some prestige attaches to a foreign degree."

Dealing with the contrasts that India presented the Trombay Atomic Energy Establishment representing the mid-twentieth century technological advance on the one hand and the "Vedic age" plough on the other Pandit Nehru said that the problem was how to increase the basic resources of the country in order to do the many things they wanted to do and at the same time give a feeling of satisfaction to the 400 million people for whom all planning was done.

Pandit Nehru said that though money was a vital factor for development, it was not such an over-riding demand as people thought because much could be done with very little money provided people were prepared to do it.

"Let us not try to set standards for comparison with highly advanced countries. We should be good intellectually but let us not be showy in other matters. We must recognise the basic fact of India as it is with large masses of people remaining poor."

NATIONAL ACADEMY

Pandit Nehru hoped that the medical profession which functioned more or less like a trade union would not forget the larger claims of the wider community.

The Health Minister, Mr. D.P. Karmarkar, suggested to the medical association to think in terms of providing a refresher course for general practitioners so that they could keep in touch with latest developments in the field of medicine. Mr. Karmarkar also indicated that the question of establishing libraries and providing other facilities for medical practitioners was under consideration.

Mr. Karmarkar said that he looked forward to the constitution of a national academy of medicine, as institution which would be managed by the profession itself, to promote post-graduate research and award diplomas.

Earlier, Rajkumri Amrit Kaur, president of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, and Lieut-Col, Amir Chand, chairman of the reception committee, welcomed the delegates.

(j) Urban Development

100. To Chief Ministers: Planning Urban Development¹¹²EXPANSION OF CITIES
MR. NEHRU'S SUGGESTION

Prime Minister Nehru, in a circular addressed to the Chief Ministers of all the States, has pointed out that "our cities are expanding without any order and method" and has suggested "a well-thought-out plan" for the next 10 or 15 years for the growth of the cities.

Mr. Nehru says: "There is a matter to which I should like to draw your particular attention. This is the planning of cities. Our urban population is growing fast and our cities are expanding usually without any order or method. This is already producing grave problems in these cities in addition to those that already existed, such as slums. In fact, new slums are being constantly created. It is of great importance to prevent this at its very inception and to have a well-thought-out plan of the city as it should be in the next 10 or 15 years. If this plan is there, every step should be taken to implement that plan. Delay is harmful."

Referring to speculation in land, Mr. Nehru says: "In every great city, there is a tendency for speculation in land. The right course is for the city or the Corporation to buy up a good deal of land and thus control the speculation as the city grows. This will also help any planning later. This of course is not enough. There should be an approach to this problem by expert planners and this planning will have to be a continuous process. That is to say, a plan when made should not be considered as the end of planning. The implementation of it is also part of that planning and new problems constantly arise. In a great and growing city, there has to be this continuous planning. The cost of such planning is recovered many times over by the savings made."

Commending the Delhi Planning Authority the Prime Minister says; "In Delhi we have approached this question of planning in a big way and a Delhi Planning Authority has been functioning for several years aided by some high power experts from the U.S. which the Ford Foundation has provided. We intend to keep this planning body functioning to help in implementing the plan. This highly trained team can be utilised later by other cities in addition to their own town planning staffs."

112. 16 January 1960. From *The Hindu*, 18 January 1960,

The suggestions of the Prime Minister have now been forwarded to the Corporation of Madras.

101. To D. P. Karmarkar: A Planning Authority for Delhi¹¹³

January 17, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

I have received your letter of January 14th, with which you have sent me various papers in regard to the planning of Delhi. I think that you should certainly circulate these papers to all members of the Cabinet.

I shall read these papers. Any real planning—of Delhi can only be done if there is a proper Authority for the purpose which can take action speedily. What kind of an Authority can be set up is a matter for consideration. It will not be much good if some vague Advisory Committee is set up which cannot take action and which deals vaguely and distantly with matters. I think this matter should be considered by the Cabinet. After that, we can consult the U.P. and Punjab Government.

I have also received your letter of January 16th and the Family Planning number of *Swasth Hind*.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(k) Science and Technology

102. To the Indian Science Congress¹¹⁴

NEHRU'S CALL TO SCIENTISTS TO WORK FOR COMMON WEAL

BOMBAY, Jan.3—Prime Minister Nehru said today that, science had advanced to stage where it brought promise of enormous good to humanity and also fear of disaster.

Pandit Nehru, who was inaugurating the forty-seventh Indian Science

113. Letter. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

114. Inaugural address, Bombay, 3 January 1960. From *National Herald*, 4 January 1960.

Congress here, said that in pursuing science, the scientist must keep this aspect of science in view. "This is so vital for human existence", he said.

Over 70 leading scientists from 22 foreign countries, including the USA, the USSR, the UK and China are attending the week-long session, along with 3,000 Indian delegates.

Pandit Nehru said that he agreed that there should be some amount of detachment and objectivity in the search for scientific truth but at the same time, he added, the scientists should be concerned about the significance of their work to human beings. "I believe they should not work with complete detachment of mind and be unconcerned about the fate of human beings", he said.

The scientist, he said, was also a human being with human feelings and, so naturally, he must relate his work in some form or other with the advancement and betterment of human being. This problem had come up before the great scientists who were concerned about this matter, he said.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Pandit Nehru, who spoke only for fifteen minutes, referred to the welcome address by Mr. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay and Chancellor of Bombay University and said that he agreed with the Governor that scientists must help to overcome the social problems or the people more than anything else.

His own main interest in science, he said, arose naturally from the social consequences of science than science itself. "We have to face major political, economic and in the main social problems of a growing country and of raising the level of hundreds and millions of our people. It is clear that we cannot solve these problems without taking recourse to science and its application. So, inevitably, we are driven to the men of science to find out how we can tackle these major problems," he said.

Stressing the importance of encouraging the growth of science in the context of India's development, Pandit Nehru said: "I believe science is growing fast in this country. It has done well during the last ten or twelve years and is beginning to show very significant results and I have no doubt it will grow."

Pandit Nehru said that year after year he had come to inaugurate the session of the Indian Science Congress, not because he could add to the value of its deliberations but in order to convey in interest and hospitality of our Government to those who come from outside to participate in its deliberations and to show also the interest of our Government in the cause of science and scientific development.

"I welcome you and assure you of our abiding interest in the work you are

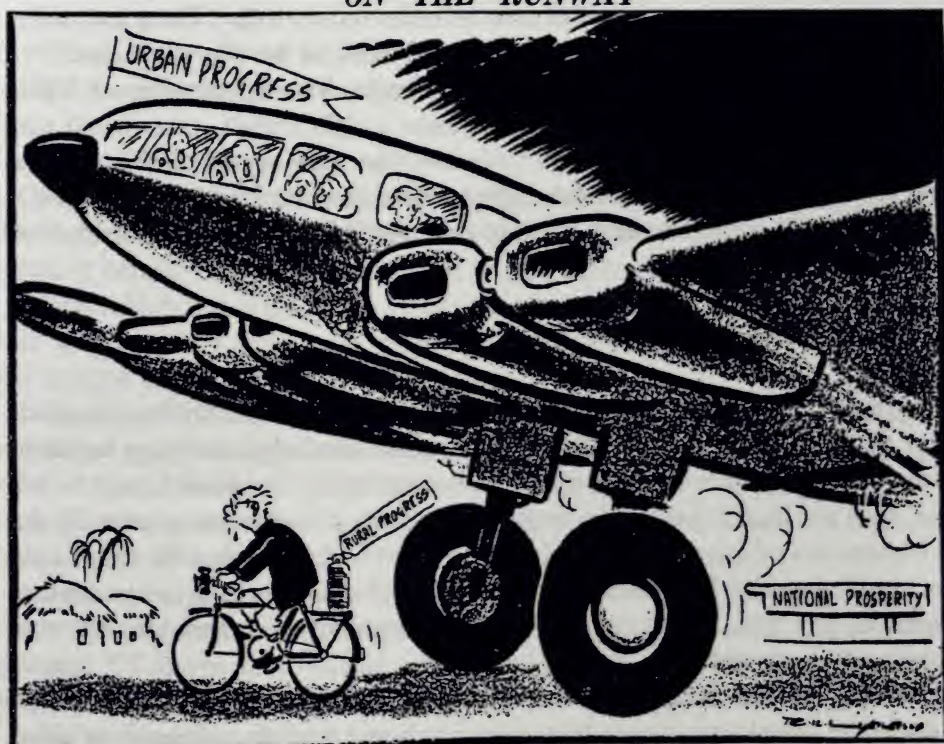
doing. We recognise the importance of your work more and more not only in the realm of science but in the application of science to the betterment of human being", he said.

Pandit Nehru said that the Government recognised that it was necessary to give opportunities to the people in this country to advance in the various ways of science and the Government had given this opportunity to the people.

INDIA GROWING FAST

Pandit Nehru said that for various reasons India had remained static in the past. Its growth was impeded for a long time because of various causes. Now, when the opportunity had come for its growth, the country wanted to grow fast, and it was growing fast in all possible ways.

ON THE RUNWAY



Mr. Nehru said that the giant strides made by science would be meaningless unless their benefits were shared by the teeming millions of rural India.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 6 JANUARY 1960)

Addressing the foreign scientists seated on the dais, Pandit Nehru said that they would find in this country a very peculiar mixture or almost everything. "Here in Bombay" he told them, "nor far off from where we are meeting, you may go and see development of work in our atomic energy establishment, which represents. I think a significant development. It will no doubt be very helpful to us, because we consider this matter not merely as research in science, not certainly from its military aspect but naturally from the point of view of utilising the energy derived from it for civil purposes. That is a vital matter if you look into the future."

Pandit Nehru said that while India was developing the latest methods of power-generation through atomic energy, the cow dung continued to be the principal fuel in this country. Similarly, in the jet age, one could find the bullock cart. These wide contrasts one found in this country was natural because India had remained static and was now attempting to grow rapidly.

"I have no doubt", he added "that this process of development will gradually remove many of the anomalies that exist in Indian society today. These anomalies are there, and the best way to remove them. I think, is the way of science."

After the inaugural speech, Prof. P. Parija, Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, read out his presidential address.

The seventy and more foreign scientists who were seated on the rostrum, and delegates from international organisations like the UNESCO, the FAO, and. the WHO, were then introduced to the Prime Minister and the president of the congress.

CONTENTMENT

In his welcome address earlier, the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Sri Prakasa, said; "I pray that scientists may, with their immense knowledge and great wisdom, find ways and means of bringing joy and contentment to human beings which one scarcely find in the world, apparently growing bigger and greater by the achievements of science. It would be a pity if it were, said that the two do not go hand in hand or that science, as we understand it, has nothing to do with that factor of life which makes man not only physically comfortable, but also spiritually contented."

The great achievements of science could be of little comfort to the common man if the simple happiness that a smiling home and the company of good friends could give, were denied to him. According to our ancient sages, he said, the greatest enemies of man were lust, anger, greed, attachment, pride and jealousy, and these enemies created all the troubles in the world. "Cannot scientists help us to overcome these enemies, and thus secure true comfort for

our individual lives as well as peace for the world at large," he asked.

Mr. Sri Prakasa urged the scientists to come out of their self-imposed anonymity, and help the common man to be worthy of the scientific age. "You have to make the knowledge of science very much more popular than it is. Today, it seems to me to be confined to a very few; and though it's higher reaches will perhaps always be so confined for obvious reasons, it is necessary that a general idea of science should be given to all," he said.

After the inaugural session, the congress broke up into various sectional committees, which will consider specific scientific problems at their meeting this week.

103. To Bombay University Institute of Technology¹¹⁵

DEVELOPMENTS IN SCIENCE SHOULD REACH MASSES NEHRU

BOMBAY, Jan.3 —Prime Minister Nehru said here tonight that efforts must be made to see that the latest developments in the field of science and technology reach the masses. Pandit Nehru was inaugurating the Bombay University's Institute of Technology.

"I am looking at this matter always from the point of view of these ideas seeping down to the masses of our people. The question before us is now the common people can benefit from these technical advances," he said.

Pandit Nehru said that cities comprised only about 20 per cent of India and only when modern techniques reached the villages, one could say that India had entered the technological era.

The Prime Minister said now-a-days people talked about, the atomic age and the jet age. Although India had not yet reached this stage of development, he would confidently say that India would soon manufacture jet planes. For after all in the modern age the tempo of development had to be rapid. In fact, he added, some little progress had been made in this a direction.

But the main question before the country today, he said, was how to encourage and bring into being simple techniques which could benefit the villagers. Of course, these techniques must be cheap and yet they must help the people to raise their standard of living.

He said people were not very much interested in possessing automobiles or things of that sort. Even though they might aspire for these, they could carry

115. Speech at the inauguration, Bombay, 3 January 1960. From *National Herald*, 4 January 1960.

on without them for some time more. But what was immediately needed was things like simple and cheap housing, and good water supply.

104. To the Association of Scientific Workers¹¹⁶

NEHRU HURT THAT INDIAN SCIENTISTS SHOULD PREFER
TO LIVE ABROAD

BOMBAY, Jan. 4—Prime Minister Nehru said here today that he was a “little hurt” when he came to know that “some of our best scientists” preferred to remain abroad and even settle down in foreign countries because they provided them “inducements and better scientific facilities” for work.

These Indian scientists abroad Pandit Nehru said should know that individuals could not set aside “certain bonds, responsibilities and obligations”.



[At Right: Gulzarilal Nanda]

(FROM *SHANKAR'S WEEKLY*, 10 JANUARY 1960)

116. Speech at the Annual meeting, Bombay, 4 January 1960. From *National Herald*, 5 January 1960.

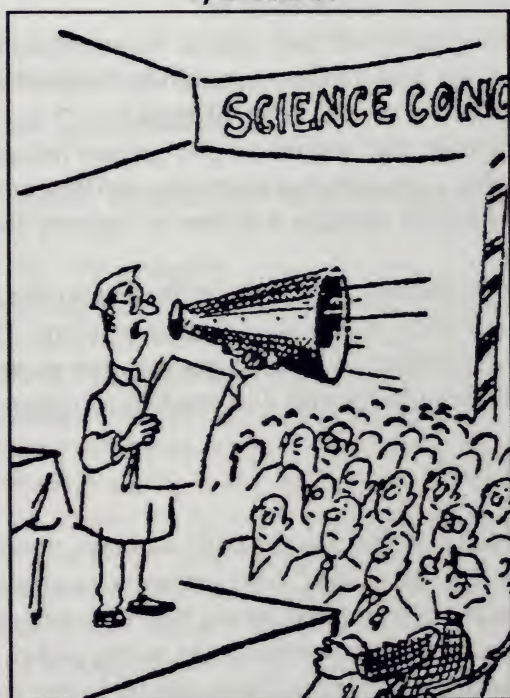
Pandit Nehru said that a man who wanted an easy life did not evoke his admiration.

Pandit Nehru was addressing the annual meeting of the Association of Scientific Workers in India, Mr. Mahalanobis,¹¹⁷ president of the association, presided.

The Prime Minister said that, perhaps, it was a fact that India may not be in a position to provide those Indian scientists abroad the inducements and facilities for scientific work which those countries could afford. But this should not mean that they should prefer to stay abroad. India, he said wanted to progress fast making the best use of the technological development and in this every Indian scientist should assist his country.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



**I am proud of the fact we have progressed enormously in science
and technology**

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 6 JANUARY 1960)

117. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, and Member, Planning Commission,

FUTURE OF ASSOCIATION

Pandit Nehru said that Mr. Mahalanobis in his presidential address had raised some important questions connected with the future of the association and of scientific workers in this country. In fact, Mr. Mahalanobis had "challenged the very existence of the organisation" he said.

The president, he said, had repeatedly asked the Government to come to the aid of the association. The Government, he said, normally did not decide anything unless they were called upon to do so. Further, the Government were not responsible for the setting up of this association and hence he did not understand why the Government should do anything in connection with this association. The Government had plenty of problems of their own, he added.

As for the future of the association, the Prime Minister said it was a question for the organisation itself to decide. He said he did not know much about the association and what it had achieved so far.

Referring to the question of trade unions for scientific workers, the Prime Minister said that his was a subject requiring "careful consideration and discussion." He could not say anything off hand.

The Government he said wanted to give greater recognition to scientific workers. Their number was increasing day by day and they were finding adequate work to do. The important question was how to improve the quality aspect of scientific workers.

The number of institutions, both in the public and private sectors, employing scientific workers, Pandit Nehru said, was increasing. The atomic energy establishment and department of defence science were growing rapidly in size, universities and private schools were also employing a larger number scientific workers.

GREATER FACILITIES

The Government sector employing scientific workers, Pandit Nehru said, was "pretty big and likely to grow fast." Universities were also expanding rapidly.

Pandit Nehru said while he could not say how the problems facing scientific workers should be solved in the private or the public sector, he would say that one main consideration in any such solution should be that it ensured the future progress of science in this country.

The Prime Minister said that he and Mr. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research, were agreed that greater facilities should be provided for scientific workers and the nation should have better scientific workers.

RECOGNITION URGED

Earlier, calling upon the Central and State Governments to give the association official recognition, Mr. Mahalanobis said that he firmly believed that the association could and should play an important role in the advancement of science and technology in India.

The association, he said, had begun its work with high hopes just before independence but there had since been a gradual decline in its membership and activities. "In the discussions at the executive committee we felt that either a fresh start has to be made with a clear programme suited to the needs of India, or the association should now be voluntarily wound up", he added.

Mr. Mahalanobis said that the Government were the biggest employers of scientific workers and it was "not enough to have the passive goodwill of the Government" for the association.

105. To the International Telegraph Telephone Consultative Committee¹¹⁸

Mr. Chairman, Mr Secretary General, Mr. Director, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Those of you, who are delegates to this Conference are experts and specialists in this particular field. I am as you know, a layman, not knowing much about the intricacies of this business. But the subject you deal with enters into the life, practically of every human being today all over the world. It goes on growing and expanding not only in extent but in depth, and so every person, must necessarily be deeply interested in how you progress, how you make these means of communications available to the entire world. There are many ways, I suppose of writing the history of the world or of human progress, and yet, I imagine that probably one of the most effective ways would be to trace the history of the development of communications in the world, from the earliest days when some bright genius discovered the wheel. And this revolutionary discovery of the wheel brought about many changes; then of course so many other things happened. For a long time after that, thousands of years, there is no marked or remarkable progress. I am talking to in regard to communications. There was of course, some progress till after the Industrial Revolution, and so on you know. But then this pace of the advance became ever faster, a telegraph

118. Speech to the Second Plenary Assembly, New Delhi, 8 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

and the telephone brought one of the major revolutions in the world. And we go on to wireless, radio, radar and all that. It is a fascinating story, and apart from the almost, if I may use a rather a much abused word, a story of great romance. And looking at it now, one sees this pace of change becoming faster and faster. Even, today the telegraph and the telephone system is almost, I do not know, you might almost call it the nervous system of the world or the pulse of the world which has become such an essential and inevitable part of human life that one can hardly imagine it without the telegraph and the telephone, and its developments, wireless, etc. Here are these innumerable messages linking the world together bringing it near each other, sometimes also perhaps bringing conflict in its train. But broadly speaking, making the world ever more one world.

There is so much talk of the one world of the future. But so far as the telegraph and telephone system and its extensions are concerned, they come very near this one world idea. But why should we stop at this one world idea? It is really an incursion into new worlds. And I am not for the moment talking about the new world in the sense of other planets and stars—not that. But in this world of ours new phases of experience and all that. Which are coming in the train of the development of communications. It must be an exciting process to go step by step in this way, viewing ever wider horizons. I do not know what the future will bring. But I am quite certain that it will bring many remarkable advances and changes. Even in my own life, I have seen these changes creep in upon us, gradually, and yet in a very big way. And we take many things for granted today, which certainly most people have not thought of even when I was a boy.

We get used to them and rather overlook the wonder lying behind them. So you deal with this very wonderful thing which is an essential part of human life and human progress. And which, as one of the speakers just said, approaches all the time a measure of universality. Politicians and the like, often quarrel. This business of communications goes on in spite of those quarrels except when, well, some terrible catastrophe comes. So, you have your feet, of course, on the ground, but at the same time, you are all the time in the air, also, both almost physically and in metaphorically. And you have again, you live in the present, but again, you are always looking at the future. Surely I imagine, that any person who looks at this picture in this broad and deep way, must be filled somewhat with a sense of excitement. Because you uncover and discover new things, new ways, in our world, new methods of communications which has become almost sometimes instantaneous and thus you change the texture of human life. It is not something apart from it, what you do in our life, when our conditions of our living change, we change the texture of the life itself. And

thereby no doubt, affect the thinking of human beings. It is an odd fact that this thinking often lags behind the practical achievements of the human mind. The human mind has brought forth all these great advances in science, communications, etc., and yet it has not adapted itself to living in the world, in this world where this progress takes effect. The political level of the human mind is far below the scientific level of the world today. And therein, I suppose lies this danger of conflict. I suppose, when the time comes, when the political level catches up to the scientific level, possibly we may have a much greater assurance not only of progress but of co-operative and peaceful progress.

So, looking at you here, being at present at this conference, I have the sensation of being rather apart from the quarrelling world and having a peep at the future which I hope will be a much more peaceful and cooperative one. You are engaged, therefore, in this high task, which you may or may not realise as a powerful effect on life itself in this world. I hope, that your labours will bear fruit to that end. As I said right at the beginning I am a layman, and you are experts. I cannot tell you much about your subject except that I live enveloped by this subject as do all of us. But the main purpose of my coming here was to welcome you, on behalf of the Government of India, and myself. And I hope that apart from the good work that you may do in this conference, you will enjoy, if I may use the word, this very pleasant climate of Delhi, and what you might see in this country [Applause].

106. To S. K. Patil: Green Manure¹¹⁹

January 8, 1960

My clear SK,

The attached papers have been sent to me. In case you have not seen them, I am sending them to you. Sivaraman¹²⁰ is a great enthusiast on the subject of green manuring. He is something more because it was largely due to his efforts that production of foodgrains went up in Madras.¹²¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

119. Letter to the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture. File No. 17(335)/59-64-PMS.
Also available in JN Collection.

120. M. S. Sivaraman was the Adviser to the Planning Commission.

121. See also SWJN/SS/49/pp. 438-439.

107. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Labour Dispute and Electronics at HMT¹²²

Bangalore
January 13, 1960

My dear Gulzarilal,

One of the Unions of the Hindustan Machine Tool Employees Association (which, I understand, is more or less a Communist Union) wanted to have an interview with me. I have had a talk with N.R. Pillai¹²³ and Mathulla¹²⁴ about this and they have given me the facts. Some disputes are apparently before the Tribunal. Further, some little trouble took place between the two Unions there and some disciplinary action is contemplated against a few persons. This too, I understand, will be referred to the Tribunal. Because of all this, I have decided not to give any interview to this Union or to the other. This is just for your information.

You may be interested to see the enclosed welcome address I got today from the Hindustan Aircraft Employees Association, This kind of thing is heartening.

I was greatly impressed by the Hindustan Aircraft work that is going on, both in the production of aircraft and railway wagons.

Later I went to something entirely different—the Electronics Research and Development Establishment. This is established in some shacks and old hutments. No new buildings have been put up and these old hutments have been utilised for very important and delicate work and research. This is a Defence Science establishment. The man in charge, Col. Chakravari, struck me as a very able and enthusiastic person. Indeed, so did the many younger scientists and technicians working there. This is a relatively new establishment but, in spite of the somewhat difficult conditions it is working in, it has already succeeded in producing many types of electronic equipment which were not produced in India. Indeed, some of their research work has been novel in character. What struck me most was the spirit of the place and how they were working in these hutments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

122. Letter to the Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning.

123. Secretary General, MEA.

124. M. K. Mathulla, Managing Director, HMT Ltd.

108. To V. H. Coelho: Uses of Bagasse from Sugarcane¹²⁵

Shri M.H. Rahman¹²⁶ in the course of a talk with me has mentioned the suggestion by a young Hungarian scientist of certain uses of bagasse obtained from sugarcane. It appears that our Ministry has been in correspondence about this matter, presumably, as an agent of the Food & Agriculture Ministry. Further, that a team from Hungary came here to discuss this question some four or five months ago.

2. What has happened to this since then and what is the position now? If what the Hungarian scientist claims is true, then this would mean a tremendous gain to us and we should convert this bagasse waste into good fertilisers.

3. In a matter of this kind, there should, of course, be full tests in a laboratory here and later a small pilot plant could be put up. Have any of these things been done or are they proposed to be done? Please let me know.

4. Rahman also spoke to me about the lining of waterways by bentonite to prevent water seeping. I gather that two Hungarians are coming to India in this connection. Will you. Please have the latest information about this matter also?

125. Note to Joint Secretary, MEA. 21 January 1960.

126. First Secretary at the Indian Legation, Budapest.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) General

109. To *The Sunday Times*: Population of China ¹

From Mr. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister of India: In this rapidly-changing world it is difficult to forecast what might happen even within ten years. I do not think there will be a major war. Tensions will continue, but will progressively lessen as a result of the efforts being made by Western Powers and the Soviet Union. Nuclear tests will be abandoned, and progressively disarmament will take place.

More attention will be directed towards the development of the under-developed nations, and it will be realised that this is essential for world peace and prosperity. India will have established an industrial base and will be moving rapidly towards a self-generating economy.

The countries of Africa will play a more important part as more of them gain independence.

China will develop considerably, and will be a great power. Her vast population, growing rapidly, will pose new and difficult problems.

Scientific and technical progress will continue at a swift pace, changing the way people live and making old political and economic theories rather out-of-date.

110. To Ellsworth Bunker: Eisenhower's Appreciation²

January 20, 1960

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your two letters of January 20th in which you have conveyed President Eisenhower's messages to me. I am grateful to the President for the interest he is taking in our problems.³ It has been a matter of great satisfaction

1. From *The Sunday Times* of 3 January 1960, p. 8 included in a series of interviews of world leaders in "The Crystal Ball."
2. Letter to the US Ambassador to India. File No. 49(5)-AMS/59, p. 4, MEA. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to SG, FS and CS.
3. See Appendix 9 (a).

to us that further substantial progress has been made in settling some of our border issues with Pakistan.⁴

I am grateful to the President for the action he has taken in regard to cooperation between India and the United States in the development of atomic energy here. We shall welcome the technical team which will come for this purpose.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

111. To Subimal Dutt: Iraq-Iran Border Tensions⁶

The Ambassador of Iraq⁷ came to see me late this afternoon. He had met me at the President's Garden Party and said that he had a very urgent message from his Government to be delivered to me. So I asked him to see me a little later at my house.

The message was to the effect that the situation on the Iraqi-Iran border was a dangerous one. Iranian forces had crossed the border in some places; there had been some minor clashes and the Iranians had arrested a number of Iraqi officials. There had also been concentration of Iranian troops across the border. Also that the Iranian radio had been attacking Iraq in strong language.

This was the substance of the message. I told him that I did not quite see what could be done about the matter, but I hoped that some peaceful arrangement would be made.

I suggest that you might send telegrams to our Ambassadors at Baghdad⁸ and Tehran⁹ telling them of this information that has been officially conveyed to me on behalf of the Iraqi Government and asking them for their report about the situation.

4. See SWJN/SS/57/pp. 371-372 and 374-378.

5. See Appendix 9 (b).

6. Note to FS, 25 January 1960.

7. Qassim Hassan.

8. I. S. Chopra.

9. T. N. Kaul.

(b) China & Tibet

112. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet a Nuisance¹⁰

Bangalore
January 12, 1960

My dear Jayaprakash,

I wrote to you some days ago about the proposed Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet which you intended holding about the middle of February.¹¹ As I have told you, this is likely to create further difficulties for us without helping in any way the people of Tibet.

Now another development has taken place, or rather is very likely to take place. Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, is expected to spend a few days in India on his way to Indonesia. I do not yet know the exact date. He will probably reach Indonesia about the 18th February. Therefore, he is likely to be in Delhi for a few days before that date. It would be unfortunate from our point of view if your convention took place about that time. I want to draw your attention to this.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

113. To V. K. Krishna Menon: Indian Vessels in Chinese Waters¹²

Please see the attached telegram which conveys a message from the Chinese Government about the alleged violation of Chinese waters by *INS Magar*. Some kind of correspondence has been going on about this between our Government and the Chinese Government for months past. We have denied any such violation. The Chinese Government now makes specific statements in this present message about the international navigation route. Surely this route must be fully known as Hong Kong is visited by many ships. Either the Chinese Government is right about this route and we are wrong, or we are right. This

10. Letter to Sarvodaya leader and a member of the PSP.

11. See SWJN/SS/57/pp. 359-361.

12. Note to the Defence Minister, 24 January 1960. File No. 15(33)-EA/59, p. 25, MEA.

matter ought not to be difficult to clear up in our own minds. It does not depend entirely on the Chinese Government as to where the international route is, as this is used by innumerable ships.¹³

2. Will you ask your Naval Headquarters to give us clear information on this subject which can be treated as unimpeachable?

(c) Nepal

114. To B. P. Sinha: Finding Time for B. P. Koirala¹⁴

January 7, 1960

My dear Chief Justice,¹⁵

I have your letter of the 7th January. It is true that Shri B.P. Koirala¹⁶ is likely to come here in the last week of this month. That week is full of Republic Day functions and there will no doubt be other functions in connection with his visit. I do not know, therefore, how far it will be possible to have an evening free for him, but we shall look into this matter. I am forwarding your letter to our Chief of Protocol.¹⁷ I am myself leaving Delhi on the 9th morning and am not going to be back till the 19th.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. See Appendix 13.

14. Letter.

15. (b. 1899); Judge, Patna High Court, 1943-51; Chief Justice, Nagpur High Court, 1951-54; Judge, Supreme Court, 1954-59; Chief Justice, Supreme Court, 1959-1964.

16. Prime Minister of Nepal.

17. M. R. A. Baig.

115. To Subimal Dutt; Matter for Joint Communiqué¹⁸

We shall have to discuss the terms of the Joint Communiqué when the Prime Minister of Nepal comes here. I do not like the idea of including in it a reference to mutual defence. But some reference to it may be indirectly made.

2. It is clear that we must find some more speedy way of dealing with the aid to Nepal. That item will have to be considered separately later. In fact the Cabinet has given much thought to speeding up our procedures in this and other matters. Meanwhile, we should inform the Ministry of Economic Affairs that we should have more speedy procedures. If necessary, the External Affairs ministries have to take this up. We should, for the present, finalise all pending matters in regard to Nepal so that when the Prime Minister of Nepal comes we can deal with them satisfactorily.

116. Welcome To B. P. Koirala¹⁹

मान्यवर प्रधानमन्त्री जी, और मान्य सज्जनो,
हम यहाँ जमा हुए हैं आप जानते हैं नेपाल के प्रधानमन्त्री जी और उनके साथियों का स्वागत करने। और स्वागत तो हम दिल से करते हैं। लेकिन कुछ थोड़ी सी मुझे कठिनाई होती है इसलिए कि मामूली स्वागत में और इसमें कुछ थोड़ा सा फर्क है। हम यहाँ अक्सर मिलते हैं स्वागत करने और देशों के राष्ट्रपति या प्रधानमंत्रियों का। और हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा सम्बन्ध और देशों से करीब का हो, सहयोग का हो, प्रेम तक का हो। और बहुत कुछ हमें इसमें सफलता भी मिली है। लेकिन कोई प्रतिनिधि, और विशेषकर प्रधानमन्त्री नेपाल के आये तो उनमें और उनके देश में हमारे देश में कोई ज़ाबते के सम्बन्ध की बहुत आवश्यकता नहीं है, न कोई उस तरफ़ की बातों की आवश्यकता है जो अक्सर कही जाती हैं, दूर के देशों से जो लोग आते हैं उनके लिए। क्योंकि नेपाल का और हिन्दुस्तान का सम्बन्ध जियोग्राफी से, संस्कृति से, धर्म से, रिवाज़ों से और कितनी और बातों से बहुत पुराना है। ऐसा नहीं है कि जिसके लिए क्लम लेके उनको बाँधकर हम कहें, क्या है सम्बन्ध? वो है ही, जैसे एक भाइयों का होता है। चाहे कभी-कभी वे भाई एक-दूसरे से नाखुश भी हो जाएँ तब भी वह सम्बन्ध नहीं टूट सकता, न प्रेम टूट सकता है। अलावा उसके पिछले बरसों में जो बातें हुई उन बातों ने और भी हमारा नाता करीब का कर दिया।

करीब दस बरस हुए एक परिवर्तन हुआ, जैसे जब भारत की आज़ादी हुई बारह-तेरह वर्ष हुए तो उसका असर नेपाल पर पड़ा। और मैं समझता हूँ कि नेपाल के लोग खुश हुए कि भारत

18. Note to FS, Bangalore, 13 January 1960.

19. Speech, 24 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

आज़ाद हुआ। उसी तरह से जब नेपाल में दस वर्ष हुए यह परिवर्तन हुआ²⁰ तो हमें खुशी हुई थी। क्योंकि वो किसी बाहर के देश से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता क्या [...] लेकिन अंदर ही कुछ आज़ादी देश की बढ़ी और एक कदम उठा था प्रजातंत्र की तरफ़। काफी कठिनाइयाँ उसमें हुई थीं और उसके बाद भी कुछ कठिनाइयाँ रहीं, दिक्कत रहीं, जैसेकि आगे कदम उठाने में रहती हैं। उसके बाद कुछ ज़माने के लिए आप प्रधानमन्त्री भी हुए थे नेपाल के। फिर और बातें वहाँ होती रहीं और पिछले वर्ष में फिर एक बड़ा कदम नेपाल ने उठाया। और ज़्यादा मज़बूती से वहाँ प्रजातंत्र का सिलसिला जमा। और आप फिर से प्रधानमन्त्री नेपाल के हुए।²¹ ज़ाहिर है कि इससे हमें खुशी हुई। यों भी होती, क्योंकि हम तो चाहते हैं कि सभी देशों में पूरे तौर से आज़ादी हो, दोनों तरह की। एक तो बाहर के देशों का दखल न हो, और दूसरे अंदरूनी स्वतंत्रता हो, जनता का राज हो, जनता का अधिकार बढ़े, और जनता की भलाई हो। इसलिए हमें खुशी हुई थी। उसके बाद, कुछ दिन बाद जब आपने मुझे निमंत्रण दिया था, आपने और महाराजाधिराज ने नेपाल के; और मैं वहाँ गया था तो इस नये नेपाल को देखकर खुशी हुई थी और आपने और आपकी जनता ने जो मेरा स्वागत किया था उसका मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है।²² प्रेम से उन्होंने किया था, और हमारा और नेपाल का रिश्ता प्रेम का और संस्कृति का है।

अब आप यहाँ आये हैं तो ये सब पुरानी तस्वीरें मेरे सामने आती हैं, बहुत ज़माने की पुरानी, और विशेषकर पिछले दस वर्षों की। और अभी एक साल भर से जो एक नयी करवट नेपाल ने ली है अधिकतर आप ही की वजह से और आपके साथियों की वजह से, और उसमें आपको सफलता हुई। उससे हमें खुशी हुई और हमने आपको बधाई दी। तो जब इतने करीब का नाता और रिश्ता हो तब एक ज़ावे की और ऊपर की बातें कहना कुछ मौज़ू नहीं होती। क्योंकि उसकी जड़ें बहुत गहरी होती हैं। और जब ऐसी गहरी जड़ें होती हैं तब अगर कोई खुशी की बात हो हमारे देश में, तो आप पे असर होता है। आपके यहाँ कोई तरक्की हो तो हमें खुशी होती है। कोई ख़तरा हमारे सामने हो तो आप पे असर होता है, आप पे ख़तरा हो तो हम पे असर होता है। और एक माने में वो हमारा ख़तरा हो जाता है। जैसे हमारा आपका हो जाये। यह तो हालत है आजकल की। ख़तरे जो कुछ हों बाहरी, वो भी नुमाया होते हैं कभी-कभी। और उसी के साथ एक ऐसी बुनियादी बातें हमारे और आपके सामने हैं, यानि अपने मुल्क की तरक्की, अपने लोगों की, जनता की तरक्की। हमारा ध्यान उसमें बहुत ज़ोरों से लगा है। उसमें पिछले दस वर्ष में कितनी हमने कामयाबी की, इसका और लोग अन्दाज़ा कर सकते हैं। हमने ग़लतियाँ कीं जैसेकि होता ही है। लेकिन कम से कम कोशिश हमारी बहुत ज़ोरों से रही कि देश आगे बढ़े, और देश के आगे बढ़ने की एक निशानी है कि जनता बढ़े। मेरा ख़याल है कि दस बरस में हिन्दुस्तान में काफी फ़र्क़ हुआ है, और भी होता तो अच्छा था।

20. See SWJN/SS/15, pt. ii/pp. 355-404 and SWJN/SS/16, pt. i/ pp. 481-491.

21. The first general elections were held in Nepal from 18 February to 3 April 1959, in which the Nepali Congress, led by B. P. Koirala, won 74 of the 109 seats in the lower house.

22. Nehru was in Nepal from 11 to 14 June 1959. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 532-44.

और अब हम ऐसी जगह पहुँचे हैं जबकि काफी जोर लगाने की ज़रूरत है ताकि जो काम हुआ वो और बढ़े, और पक्के तौर से जम जाये।

आपके सामने भी नक्शे करीब-करीब वैसे ही हैं। फर्क है, हर मुल्कों में फर्क होता ही है। कुछ आपकी कठिनाइयाँ ज़्यादा हैं बाज़ बातों में, कुछ हमारी ज़्यादा हैं। लेकिन प्रश्न एक माने में एक से हैं। इसलिए और भी हमारा आपका रिश्ता हो जाता है कि हम इन प्रश्नों के हल करने में कैसे एक-दूसरे से सहयोग कर सकते हैं और सहायता दे सकते हैं। तो जिस तरफ़ से इस सवाल को देखा जाये उस तरफ़ से मालूम होता है कि नेपाल का और भारत का भविष्य, जैसेकि पिछला ज़माना रहा, वो एक, एक-दूसरे से सहयोग करके, मिलकर चलने का है। ज़ाहिर है कि जब दो मुल्कों में कभी-कभी सवाल अलग होते हैं उनका अलग फैसला होता है। और एक मुल्क की आज़ादी की निशानी है कि अलग अपने फैसले करे और उसमें कोई किसी किस्म की ऐसी कार्यवाही और पेश न करे जो उनके फैसले करने में कठिनाई डालें। लेकिन जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा कि कुछ हमारे दो मुल्कों का इतिहास में और संस्कृति में और कितनी और बातों में ऐसे मिला जुलाकर हमें कर दिया है कि वो चीज़ टूट सकती नहीं। न मैं समझता हूँ कि इच्छा भी हो सकती है कि वो टूटे या कम हो।

तो आपका इस समय आना और हम लोगों से बातें करना, हम और आप मिलकर करें क्या-क्या हमारे प्रश्न हैं। और उसी के साथ कुछ और भी बातें करना, कि आजकल दुनिया का क्या हाल है, क्या दुनिया के बड़े प्रश्न हैं उससे मैं समझता हूँ हमारे दोनों देशों को लाभ होगा। कुछ शायद और भी फ़ायदे हों, उससे। क्योंकि आजकल किसी देश के सवाल अलग नहीं हो सकते दुनिया के सवालों से। सबसे बुनियादी सवाल तो यही है कि दुनिया में अमन और शान्ति रहे, कि न रहे। क्योंकि अगर अमन नहीं रहता तो सभी लोग लपेट में आ जाते हैं उसकी, सब देश, और हमारे जो नक्शे हमारे दिल में हैं, योजनाएँ, सब ठंडी हो जाती हैं। और लड़ाई के माने, दुनिया की लड़ाई के, तबाही है। और सबसे पहला सवाल तो वो हो जाता है। और इस सवाल में तो कोई शक़ नहीं कि नेपाल और भारत की नीति शान्ति और अमन की तरफ़ है। और बातों में भी है बहुत कुछ मिलती-जुलती।

तो फिर आपका आना हमारे लिए इस समय विशेषकर बहुत मुबारक हुआ और हमें बहुत खुशी है। और आपको और आपके साथियों का हम दिल से स्वागत करते हैं। यह मेरा कहना कि आपके आने से हमारा रिश्ता कुछ ज़्यादा करीब का हो जाये, मेरी इच्छा भी है। लेकिन ज़्यादा करीब के होने के बहुत गुंजाइश भी नहीं है। क्योंकि बहुत करीब है और उसको ज़्यादा क्या हम करें। लेकिन फिर भी अच्छा है कि हम सब, वक़्त में जो बातें आती हैं नयी-नयी, उससे वो पुराना रिश्ता नये ज़माने का भी रिश्ता हो, खाली पुराने ज़माने का न रहे। और इस तरह से हम मदद कर सकें एक-दूसरे की और दुनिया के बड़े सवालों में भी, जहाँ तक मुमकिन हो, हम एक-दूसरे को सहयोग दें। तो बस मैं अपने देश के शासन की ओर से और जनता की ओर से आपका और आपके साथियों का पूरे तौर से स्वागत करता हूँ और आशा हम करते हैं कि नेपाल की और नेपाल की जनता की तरक्की हो। अब आप साहेबान से, सज्जनों से मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि प्रधानमंत्री, नेपाल के प्रधानमंत्री के स्वास्थ्य के लिए हम टोस्ट पियें। तालियाँ।

[Translation begins:

As you know we are gathered here today to welcome the Prime Minister of Nepal and his colleagues. We welcome him from the bottom of our hearts. But I have a small problem because there is a small difference between an ordinary welcome and this one. We often meet here to welcome foreign dignitaries and heads of states. We want to establish friendly relations with other countries and have succeeded to a large extent. But when a representative from Nepal, particularly the Prime Minister visits us, there is no need for the formal speeches and other gestures normally made to representatives of distant countries. That is because India and Nepal are closely linked together by the bonds of geography, culture, religion, traditions and other factors. We do not have to spell it out. Our relationship is that of two brothers. Even if we are upset with each other sometimes, nothing can break the bond of love which exists between us.

Moreover, our relations have become close-knit during the last few years. When India became free thirteen years ago, it made an impact on Nepal. I feel that the people of Nepal were happy that India had become free. Similarly when there were internal changes in Nepal ten years ago and the people were given greater freedom, we felt happy.²³ They took a step towards democracy. There were great difficulties which are quite natural whenever a progressive step is taken. Then our honoured guest became the Prime Minister for some time. Other events followed and last year, Nepal took a very major step. Democracy was established more firmly and our honoured guest became the prime minister once more,²⁴ it is, obvious that we are very happy about it. We would have been happy in any case because we want that there should be complete freedom in all the countries, freedom both from interference by other countries and internal freedom and people's rule. A few days later I was invited by the Prime Minister and the King of Nepal to visit their country. I went and was extremely happy to see a new Nepal emerging. I still remember very clearly the warm welcome accorded to me by the Prime Minister and the people of Nepal.²⁵ The bond between India and Nepal is one of affection and culture.

Your visit to India brings back old memories and pictures of the ancient past as well as those of the last ten years rise before my mind's eye. Nepal has entered into a new era largely due to the efforts of the Prime Minister and his colleagues. We were happy that he succeeded so well and we congratulated him. In such circumstances when we have a very close relationship, there is no

23. See fn 20 in this section.

24. See fn 21 in this section.

25. See fn 22 in this section.

place for formalities and superficial countries. Our relationship has very deep roots and everything that happens to one makes an impact on the other. We feel happy at the progress made by our countries. If danger threatens us, it has repercussions in Nepal and vice versa. In a sense, the problems and difficulties of one affect the other deeply. Dangers, even external ones, become symbols sometimes.

At the moment, our entire attention is on the progress of the nation, people can judge for themselves the progress that we have made during the last ten years. We have made mistakes but at least our entire effort has been concentrated upon improving the standard of living of the people. In my opinion, a great difference is noticeable within ten years. We have been able to reach a take off point from which it will be possible to consolidate the advantages which we have.

The picture is almost the same as far as Nepal is concerned with certain differences. You face greater difficulties in some areas and we in others. But the problems are similar. Therefore, the bond between us gets further strengthened in our attempts to cooperate with one another. Whichever way you look at it, the only course open to India both in the past as well as in the future is one of cooperation. It is obvious that when the problems differ, two independent countries like ours will take different decisions. There is no question of interference in each other's affairs. But as I told you the long years of history and culture have created an unbreakable bond between our two countries. I do not think either of us would ever wish to break that bond.

Your visit at this time and the talks that we have had on our internal problems and the international situation will, I feel, be useful to both India and Nepal. It may have other benefits too. Today no issue can be treated in isolation. The fundamental problem is whether we shall have peace in the world. If war breaks out, all of us will feel its impact and all our hopes and plans will come to naught. War will spell ruin for the world. So that is the most urgent question. There is no doubt about the fact that both Nepal and India follow a policy of peace in the world.

We are very happy to welcome you and your colleagues to our country. I certainly hope that relations between the two countries will be strengthened further though we are already very close. Even so, it is a good thing to keep renewing the old contacts and give them new meaning and content. In this way we can help one another in tackling the problems that we face. I welcome you on behalf of the government and people of India and hope that Nepal will make rapid strides in the future. I propose a toast to the good health of the Prime Minister of Nepal [Applause].

Translation ends.]

(d) USSR

117. To K. P. S. Menon: Invitation to Khrushchev to Visit²⁶

Your telegram 4 January 5th to Dutt.²⁷ We shall be happy if Khrushchev visits India and spends some days here on his way to Indonesia. He can come here either on his way to Indonesia in February or on his way back in early March. But climatically February will be preferable. Please convey following message to Khrushchev on my behalf:-

BEGINS: I understand that you are going to Indonesia in February. That will mean your passing through India. We shall all be very happy if you could spend some days with us in India. I hope that you will be able to accept our cordial invitation. It will be a special pleasure to welcome Mrs. Khrushchev and other members of your family. It is a long time since I had the privilege of meeting you and your stay here for some time would be particularly valuable as it will enable us to have the advantage of talks with you. If you so wish it, you could also visit the great Bhilai plant which is symbol of the cooperation of our two countries. We can treat your visit here as an official State visit or as an unofficial visit as you prefer. Your acceptance of this invitation will give us great pleasure and we shall look forward to meeting you again.

With warm regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

ENDS

26. Telegram to the Indian Ambassador to the USSR, No. 0065, 5 January 1960.

27. "Khrushchev is visiting Indonesia for about fortnight from 22nd February. Am sure he would like to stop at Delhi have talks with Prime Minister and perhaps visit Bhilai and one or two other places. Kuznetsov told me in entirely personal capacity that Khrushchev would appreciate such an invitation. Suggest Prime Minister invites him to stay a week on his way to or back from Djakarta. It may be added that if Khrushchev prefers visit can be treated as unofficial and that will be a special pleasure to welcome Mrs. Khrushchev and any other members of his family."

118. To S. Dutt: Civic Reception for Voroshilov at the Red Fort²⁸

January 11, 1960

My dear Dutt,

The Deputy Mayor of Delhi Corporation has sent me a draft for the Civic Address to President Voroshilov. I have hurriedly read it. You might see it and also show it to K.P.S Menon. Then you might send it back to the Deputy Mayor.²⁹

I find that there is some feeling among certain people about the fact that this Civic Reception is being held in the Red Fort and not in the Ramlila Grounds, as was done in the case of President Eisenhower. I have tried to explain to them the reasons. We have now to stick to the Red Fort, of course, but I hope every effort will be made to make the Red Fort Reception a success.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

119. To Subimal Dutt: Contemptible *Current*³⁰

I agree with you. The *Current* is not only irresponsible, but also contemptible. Recently it has been giving out highly defamatory articles against some of our senior Defence officers by name, as also the Defence Minister.³¹ It made wholly untrue allegations. I spoke about it at a public meeting in Bombay recently. We are in fact considering what action we can take against it as what was written was clearly libellous.

2. I do not know what we can do about it in this present case. We have no power to do anything except to start some kind of legal action against it. I think that no advertisements are given to it by Government and it has been placed on the banned list. As for going to a court of law about this matter, I do not advise it.

3. If you meet the Soviet Ambassador³² again, you might tell him of our utter disapproval of *Current* and its consistent policy of attacking our

28. Letter to FS.

29. Trilok Chand Sharma.

30. Note to FS, Bangalore, 15 January 1960.

31. See *Current*, 9 December 1959, and item 127.

32. I. A. Benediktov.

Government in most objectionable terms. To start a case against it in a law court would give it much publicity and not even achieve any satisfactory results.

120. To Subimal Dutt: Khrushchev Visit Programme³³

We should agree to the programme suggested and make arrangements accordingly. The visit should be treated as an official one. As Mr. Khrushchev's time in Delhi is very limited, we shall have necessarily to limit the functions. Apart from the reception at Palam, there should be a State Banquet, preferably on the 11th night. He will of course want to visit the Agriculture Fair, especially the Soviet Pavilion. The only other function that I can suggest is an address to Members of Parliament. This will be appreciated by our MPs and might take place on the 12 February afternoon about 5.00 p.m.

I want to reserve a good deal of time for talks with Mr. Khrushchev. I suggest, therefore, that part of the afternoon of 11th February and the morning of the 12th February might be reserved for this purpose.

I have not suggested a Civic Reception for Mr. Khrushchev, partly to save time for the Agriculture Fair and partly because he has had a Civic Reception here during his previous visit.³⁴

You might put these various suggestions to the Soviet Ambassador and see his reactions.

You might tell the Ambassador that I am glad that there is a chance of Mrs. Khrushchev coming here. We shall be happy if she could come here and rest in India till Mr. Khrushchev returns from Indonesia. She could join him in Calcutta. If it is preferred, she could stay in a hill station, like Simla or Darjeeling, although Delhi in February is not at all hot. Dehra Dun is a good place to stay and rest with occasional visits to Mussoorie.

121. To Subimal Dutt: Khrushchev Visit Programme³⁵

The programme given appears to be suitable. It ends at Bhilai. Surely it should be carried on further to Calcutta. Presumably he is going to Calcutta, and then from there to Rangoon.

33. Note to FS, 20 January 1960.

34. November-December 1955. See SWJN/SS/31/pp. 299-365.

35. Note to FS, 23 January 1960.

2. The principal functions are the Banquet on the night of the 11th February, address to Members of Parliament on the 12th February and the visit to the World Agriculture Fair. For the rest, there should be no engagements except those for talks.

3. As for how Mr. Khrushchev should be treated here, as Head of State or as Head of Government, I was inclined to think that he should be treated practically as the Head of the State, even though we may not call him as such. Strictly according to protocol, this may not be quite correct, but reality appears to me to be more important. I suggest that you consult Shri K.P.S. Menon about it. If he thinks it necessary, you might frankly talk to the Soviet Ambassador. There should be no hesitation on our part to treat him in effect as the Head of the State if there is the slightest desire on the other part that this should be done.

4. What you say about President Eisenhower is strictly correct. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Mr. Khrushchev is one of the two outstanding political personalities of the present period.

5. Our decision on this point will affect part of the programme, that is as to whether the President receives him at Palam and gives him a Banquet or not.

6. There is no immediate hurry about a decision on this particular point. The rest of the programme may be passed.

122. In Honour of President Voroshilov³⁶

Your Excellency Mr. President, Your Excellency Mr. Kozlov³⁷ friends and colleagues,

You just saw and heard the President of the Soviet Union. I also heard him and was looking at him. Many peculiar pictures came before my mind as I heard and saw him. He occupies a high position, a very high position. That is true but that is a symbol of many great things, because he is among these few people who saw the beginning of a great Revolution and who participated in it. He is among the coworkers of Lenin. This was over forty years ago and since then an age has passed. With that age went many people and in their places there came new people.

36. Speech at civic reception, Red Fort, Delhi, 24 January 1960. PIB.

37. Frol Romanovich Kozlov (1908–65); close ally of Khrushchev; Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 1960; suffered a stroke in 1963 and resigned his posts in November 1964, after Khrushchev's removal.

The President of the Soviet Union today reminds us of those old things, those things which belong to an age which saw many ups and downs in the world, many great wars, defeats and victories. These images came before my mind and I began to think of this period of forty or forty-three years ago. What happened then, the atmosphere of that period which brought about a new kind of revolution during the World War period. What happened in the Soviet Union has become a part of history. That has resulted in many changes in the Soviet Union and made a tremendous impact on the world.

But let us remember that almost at the same period a development took place in our country also. Almost during the same period in our country, Gandhiji had started great movements, by different means and in a different manner. But even that was a revolution, in the minds of the people and in their households. Those people who belonged to that period and who are still present and who are still alive would remember that wave which was set in motion in India and spread throughout the country and influenced the life of the people. Ultimately, that resulted in the removal of a foreign power from this country.

Our freedom struggle and the great Soviet Revolution were different in character. Many features were however common, the most important of these was that the common people, the masses were with us. These two types of movements were active in the world at the same time.

Many such things happened all over the world, particularly in Asia. The presence of the Soviet President here reminds us of that period.

A few years ago, as you are aware, Mr. Khrushchev, who is now the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, was in our midst and your Corporation and the people of Delhi had given him a big reception.³⁸ Even in these four or five years since he was in Delhi, many things have happened in the world and many great problems have arisen. Some of these problems have been solved and some others may be solved. You must have noticed how hard the Soviet Government is striving to solve the problems of war so that the foundations of peace may be made stronger. In his speech Mr. Voroshilov made many references to peace and in the last four days, whenever he has spoken here since his arrival, the greatest emphasis has been on peace. The Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, is also laying great stress on peace. Perhaps you know that Mr. Khrushchev has put forward a proposal for the destruction of warlike materials in the world, for the abolition of arms and for stopping the production of war materials. In other words, the atomic weapons, etc., should be destroyed

38. November-December 1955. See SWJN/SS/31/pp. 299-365.

and the production of more destructive weapons should also be stopped so that there would be no material left in the world and the world would be spared this disaster. This is the kind of proposal he has made.

In the kind of world in which we are living today and in the atmosphere of fear, preparation for war and tension, this proposal being suddenly made may appear airy or vague to many people, because this takes us from this world to a place where there will be no arms, no weapons which have been with us for hundreds of years, for thousands of years. This is a fact of the weakness of those of us in the world who have become accustomed to wars and conflicts in the world so that the fact of peace is not fully acceptable to our minds. Ultimately, if we want to make progress towards peace, then to imagine that we would, on the one hand, give up arms and, on the other hand, still rely on arms, would not take us very far. We have to move forward by sound means and with firm determination that we have to proceed on this path. Of course, you cannot just accomplish the goal in one stride, you have to move step by step. But your intention should be clear.

Therefore, the proposal made by Mr. Khrushchev in this regard is a courageous and brave proposal, a proposal of foresight and one which demands great attention by other countries also. It is a different matter that you can make some changes in it here and there. But fundamentally that is a sound proposal which the world today needs, the common people of the world.

Nearly forty years have passed since there was a revolutionary era in India and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Revolution has become a great chapter in the history of the world and it considerably shook the world. Its waves are still spreading in the world. The same revolutionary country has now raised the banner of peace. That is a peculiar matter, but one which requires great attention. We have to understand it. They have a variety of experience, the experience of war, of revolution, ups and downs and also the progress of their country. They have raised this banner of peace. It is well known that we have been from the outset of a peaceful approach. Our freedom struggle was a peaceful one and Gandhiji instilled the message of peace in us. It is, therefore, obvious that we can only welcome this idea and in so far as we can work for its success.

Now, a question arises. Speeches are made and proposals are presented by big people. The question then arises what is the mind behind these? Does it betray fear and pride or does it show friendship and confidence, for this helps the thing to move forward. We know that in our country we have many weaknesses. We may perhaps have some good points also but how can we speak of that ourselves. Of course, we can speak of our weaknesses unhesitatingly because by admitting our weakness it does not increase. Perhaps it gives us strength to remove it. Among our great points has been one, perhaps

it is still there, that is, we have extended our friendship to other countries with an open heart. We have sent to other countries the message of love with an open heart, whether those countries agree with us on a particular matter or not, for we consider that this is the only true path and this creates an atmosphere of real friendship and understanding. This has given us good results, of friendship, of love. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, all those Indians who have been to that country—I have been there, your Mayor went there sometime ago and other people who went there—will bear witness to the fact that wherever they went, the people of the Soviet Union, big and small showed them love and showed great regard for India and Indians.

We may move on other planes and our Ambassadors of course work in their spheres. That should be so. But, what a country gives to another country is its love, a most precious thing, and the country which shows affection towards another gets in return affection. There is no doubt about it. Of course sometimes there may be breach of faith or confusion for sometime. That is a different matter. But it is a recognised principle that others show you the same regard as you show to them and with the same intentions.

Therefore, among the many things which bring the people of the Soviet Union and the people of India close to each other and bind them in friendly ties is the love in the hearts of the peoples for each other. I have to thank the President and His Excellency Mr. Kozlov for many things. We have received assistance from the Soviet Union in our programmes and the Second Five Year Plan. That is true. But the most precious thing which the Soviet people have given to us and for which I express gratefulness to them—not mere verbal gratefulness for which there is no need—is the manner in which the Government and the people of the Soviet Union have shown love and affection to India and her people and the way in which they have acted towards us. This thing is the most precious of all, more precious even than the assistance, although even for that assistance we are grateful to them. I want to place great emphasis on this.

Our honoured guest has been here for the last four days and after two or three days, he will go to other parts of the country after seeing our Republic Day celebrations. After completing the tour of India, when he leaves, he will carry with him an image of India.

I do not know what kind of images he will carry with him, because the speed with which he would see India that will give an external impression. If he looks deep inside below the surface, there will be many images some of which he might like and some others he might not. I am however sure of one thing, that he will certainly carry with him a picture, the picture of great regard in which his country is held in India and the message of love which India will send with him.

You heard the President refer to Gandhiji and to others. Although the methods of the Soviet Union and our methods were not the same, there were some differences, we still held each other in esteem. Where does the question of esteem and regard arise when two people agree on everything? The question arises when there may be some difference of opinion and still you may have regard and love for each other. This influences each other.

The other influence is the influence of force, of compulsion. We have certainly tried to act in this manner and history will record to what extent we were successful in that. No doubt we have been successful to some extent. Perhaps this Red Fort and the City of Delhi bear witness to the fact that we have been successful to some extent. When people from different countries came here, the City of Delhi welcomed them, people coming from different countries were received with love. That is a symbol the real meaning of which, in relation to our policy and the policy in the world, you will not get in India, but in the great capitals of the world.

I am not going to elaborate on that here. The relationship between India and the Soviet Union is one of closeness, friendship and love. It is obvious therefore that we should try to learn from each other. At least we are striving and at the same time we go along the path which we consider desirable for relationship and I wish this would spread. Not only with the Soviet Union, but, as far as possible, with other countries also we have the same relationship and we hope it would spread.

We hope this danger of war over the world will pass. When that danger looms, it creates fear of every kind and remember that when we make fear our companion and give it a place in our minds, it proves to be a bad companion. It causes confusion in our minds and prevents us from thinking properly. Relationship of close friendship with fear is not good. It should be kept at a distance. This does not mean that we should be complacent, we have to be ever careful and prepared. Whatever challenges and tests are there, we have to face them. And in facing them, the more friends we have in the world the better for us and the world.

I was pointing out that here and elsewhere the Soviet President had emphasised the need for peace in the world today. This is a problem for the whole world and since it is the biggest problem in the world it is a major issue before every country. Our problems are big enough, our difficulties with which you are familiar. There is our Five Year Plan with which is linked the destiny of India but that thing is closely linked with the fact whether there will be peace in the world or not. Therefore, undoubtedly I can tell the President on your behalf that India which was already striving to go along the path of peace will now work for peace with greater strength and will strive in every possible manner

that this banner of peace which has been raised should move forward with success and achieve complete triumph.

On behalf of our Government and on behalf of the citizens of Delhi a welcome has been accorded to you. I join in that welcome and I am sure that in the context when you tour India and visit different parts of our country, wherever you go, so you will find love and when you return you will feel happy.

(e) Africa

123. To Dinesh Singh: Attending the African People's Conference³⁹

Bombay

January 3, 1960

My dear Dinesh,

Your letter of December 29th asking me if you could attend the African People's Conference to be held in Tunis. I have been trying to find out about this conference, but the facts at our disposal are very limited. I gather, however, that the conference is likely to be held on the 15th January in Tunis.

We have no objection to your attending this conference as an observer. Indeed, it would be worth while your doing so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

39. Letter to the Congress, MP from Banda , UP.

124. To Kwame Nkrumah: Becoming a Republic⁴⁰

January 8, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th December, 1959, in which you inform me that it is Ghana's intention to become a Republic. In this proposal, you will certainly have the support of our Government.⁴¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

125. To Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar: Need for Close Contact with Africa⁴²

Bangalore.
January 17, 1960

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th January and for the report of the lecture you delivered at the University of Minnesota on "The Quest for Peace." I shall certainly read this lecture with great interest.

May I say that I entirely agree with you that we should develop closer contacts with the countries of Central and South America on the one hand and Africa on the other. I have long felt the need for this. In fact, I have been anxious to pay a visit myself to these countries. I have not been to Africa at all except to Egypt and the Sudan. Nor have I been to Central or South America or even to Mexico. I had almost made up my mind to visit some of these countries last summer, but the burden of work here prevented me from doing so. The difficulty is that if I go either to Africa or to Latin America, I can hardly visit just one or even two countries. It has to be a longer visit which would include a number of these countries. I might take Africa at one time and some of the

40. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ghana. File No. CPD-20/57-AFR.II, p. 37/c., MEA.

41. Nkrumah wrote to Nehru on 23 February 1960 announcing the plan to become a Republic, for the referendum on the change of constitution to be held 19-26 April, about Ghana wanting to remain in the Commonwealth and raising the issue at the next Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in May 1960, welcoming observers to the referendum, and inviting Nehru to visit, either during the inauguration ceremonies of 1 July, or later.

42. Letter to the Maharaja of Mysore.

countries of Latin America during another visit. Both these visits will involve a minimum of three or possibly four weeks, and it is exceedingly difficult to find that time. I have, in fact, been invited to go to these countries repeatedly. All I can say is that I shall try to find time.

As for sending a high powered Commission there, I rather doubt if such a Commission can be sent without adequate preparation. So far as African countries are concerned, we have been in some touch with them and we have our representatives there. We have sent to some of them our officers and experts. In South America, we have two or three representatives, but that is totally inadequate for a vast continent. However, we shall certainly give earnest thought to what you have suggested.⁴³

May I express my deep gratitude to you for your kind hospitality which I have appreciated greatly. My daughter, Indira, joins me in these thanks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. To Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar: Please go to Ghana⁴⁴

January 21, 1960.

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

On return here from Bangalore I have received a letter from Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana.⁴⁵ I enclose a copy of it.

I should be grateful if you would send me your reaction to the proposal made by Dr Nkrumah. If, in view of your special interest in Africa, you would like to accept this offer for delivering some lectures there, we envisage no difficulty. It is true that for a Governor to go abroad involves some constitutional procedures here which should not be repeated frequently. But we shall leave

43. On 17 January, Nehru forwarded his own and Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar's letters to N. R. Pillai with the comment, "what the Maharaja has said is completely right, and we should do something about this, though what exactly we can do in the near future is not clear to me. You might consider this matter in consultation with others."

44. Letter. File No. VPD-5/60-AFR-II, p. 5, MEA.

45. See Appendix 8.

the acceptance of this proposal for you to judge. You mentioned to me that your health is not particularly satisfactory. I do not know how far this might come in your way.⁴⁶

I should like to have an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. This letter, with Kwame Nkrumah's letter was copied to Commonwealth Secretary, M. J. Desai.

127. To V. K. Krishna Menon: *Current* on Asses for the Army¹

I see that in the *Current* weekly of Bombay of the 30th December 1959, there are big headlines about the proposed purchases of asses for the army. The statements made there appear to me to be highly defamatory and, so far as I know, entirely devoid of truth. I know that the *Current* is an utterly irresponsible paper with no reputation and little circulation. It is chiefly known for its personal attacks. Many such attacks have been made upon me and I have taken no notice of them. But in the present article the honour of the army and of our officers is concerned and I do not think we can allow this to rest where it is.

I remember some other articles in *Current*. One was on the 26th August and the other on the 18th November. I have not got them by me, but in one of them at least another charge was brought about the purchase of bran by the army. Some reference, I think, was also made to the Amar project at Ambala² which seemed to me quite untrue. The Chief of the Army Staff mentioned one of these articles in *Current* to me some time ago. I said then that it is seldom worthwhile taking these matters to a court of law, but it is always necessary, when a specific charge is made, to deny it in clear terms. Otherwise the public are misled and it is said that there is no denial. As far as I remember, I suggested to the Chief of Staff, Army,³ that some kind of a statement of denial should be issued. I did not see any such statement.

It appears that the *Current* is carrying on a systematic campaign against the army and its senior officers and serious charges are made which appear to me to have no substance. This kind of thing cannot be allowed to continue in this manner and some steps have to be taken. We may even have to consider the desirability of taking action in a court of law for defamation.

But, before we do this, we should have the facts. I suggest to you to have an immediate enquiry made into these charges of the contract for the purchases of asses and the other deal in regard to purchase of bran for the army. Also about the Amar project. I take it this can be done adequately within a few days. Thereafter we shall consider what other steps should be taken. One such step

1. Note to the Defence Minister, 1 January 1960.
2. Inaugurated by Nehru on 16 January 1959, it entailed the construction of 1,450 dwelling units for troops. See also SWJN/SS/46/pp. 626-636.
3. K. S. Thimayya.

appears to be to issue an authoritative and clear denial of the allegations. Perhaps the Chief of Staff, Army, could then issue such a denial, but I rather doubt if this will be enough. We can consider future steps later.⁴

128. To Manubhai Shah: Coordinating Defence and Civil Industries⁵

January 5, 1960

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of the 5th January. I have read the note attached to it.⁶ This covers a large field. I am not quite sure how far all the articles you have mentioned in this list can be or should be entrusted to private industry. But some certainly can be. In any event, it is certainly desirable to have a full consideration of these matters between the Defence and the other Ministries concerned.

The Defence Ministry is, I believe, preparing a note on what it can do. As soon as that is ready, we can consider that together with the suggestions you might make.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

129. To V. K. Krishna Menon: Border Roads⁷

You will remember that the question of our border areas came up before the Cabinet sometime ago. There were two aspects of it: One was the building of roads and the other was the development of those areas in other ways. So far as the development is concerned, certain tentative proposals have been made for a reorganisation of the administrative apparatus there so that some good and

4. See also item 119.

5. Letter to the Minister of Industry. File No. 17(381)/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

6. It referred to the need to coordinate defence production between the ordnance factories and the public and private sectors. One issue was to prevent duplication; the other was to prepare the civil sector to switch to defence equipment production when required.

7. Note to the Defence Minister, 20 January 1960; copied to Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary.

experienced officers may be put in charge of smaller areas than at present and should be given a good deal of authority and latitude to proceed with the development. Naturally, funds for this development will largely come from the Centre. This matter will come up before the Cabinet soon.

2. The Cabinet Secretary was put in charge of a committee to deal with these border areas and report to the Cabinet. He is reporting soon about the development of the border areas. When I asked him about the roads and communications, he said that the paper had been sent to the Defence Ministry about two weeks ago and it was still there. Will you please look into this matter and have it expedited so that Cabinet might consider any proposals that are being made?

3. To name the roads required in some order of priority can of course be done without much difficulty. The question, however, is how we can expedite the building of these roads. The normal PWD methods are very slow and we cannot afford to wait for several years before these roads are completed. I had a talk with you about this matter sometime ago. You had then suggested that it would be desirable, in order to expedite the building of these roads, to divide them up into three categories: (1) the Central PWD; (2) State PWD; and (3) some other agency⁸ to be created for the purpose. I am not taking into consideration here those roads which might be called operational and which inevitably will be under the charge of the army engineers.

4. About the third category, i.e. some other agency, to build these roads, it is for us to consider what kind of an agency we can create. Probably it will not be wholly desirable to put them regularly under the army engineers, although army engineers may well be used for the purpose. Possibly, a separate labour corps might be recruited, and some army engineers attached to it. This method would probably be cheaper. Also, some of our old machinery for building or levelling etc. which we have with us at present might be used after some reconditioning.

5. This will have to be considered by the Cabinet. I should like your Ministry to give thought to this and prepare a paper on the subject as soon as possible.

8. The Border Roads Organisation was formed in July 1960.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) General

130. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: New Year Greetings¹

January 1, 1960

Nan darling,

The New Year has begun and is a little more than an hour old. Before I retire for the night I must send you all my love and good wishes.

We have troubles enough but I am shameless enough to survive them. Indeed I am looking forward to this New Year with a measure of confidence!

Love

Jawahar

131. To Vishnu Sahay: Bhikshu Chaman Lal on Africa, Gypsies, and Maoris²

I spoke to you today about Bhikshu Chaman Lal.³ He had suggested that he might go to Africa for a month or two. He knows well the East African leaders in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, and he knows, of course, the Indian community there. I think his visit would do much good in regard to the relations between Indians and Africans. He should go there in a purely non-official capacity. The expenditure involved, so far as we are concerned, would be the air fare and back. No other payment need be made. We could, of course, inform our representative there that he is coming. For the rest, he will function for himself, possibly with some advice from our representative.

2. I should like you to send for him and have a talk with him about this matter.

3. I also mentioned to you about two books he has prepared, one about the Gypsies and the other about the Maoris. I have only glanced through some of these manuscripts and pictures, and they appeared to me interesting and

1. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

2. Note to CS, 1 January 1960.

3. Journalist and writer; became a Buddhist monk in 1955.

worth publication. You might consult Foreign Secretary also about this matter. The first step to be taken is to have these manuscripts examined carefully by some competent person in our Ministry. Bhikshu Chaman Lal might be requested to give the manuscripts and the pictures for this purpose. I enclose the chapter-heads of these books, which he has given to me.

132. To Kesho Ram: Helping a Widow raise her Son⁴

I attach a letter from the widow⁵ of Shri V.D. Tripathi, the M.P.⁶ who died recently. Apparently she wants me to take charge of her son. You might write to her (saying that you are doing so at my request, as I was going away to Bombay) and tell her that I shall gladly help her for her son to the extent of my ability. But I do not quite understand what she wishes me to do in regard to her son. I do not take charge of any people whoever that might be. Ask her what her son is doing now and other particulars about him.

133. To R. D. Chandola: Appreciating a Zari Portrait⁷

January 1, 1960

Dear Captain Chandola,

Thank you for your letter of December 23rd. I received the Zari picture of me called "Nazare-Jawahar". I think it is a fine piece of work. I would have liked to send a letter of thanks to the artist directly, but you have not given me his name, although his address is indicated. Could you please let me have his name so that I can write to him?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Note to PPS, 1 January 1960. File No. 6(64)60-H, Note No. 2.

5. Krishna Devi Tripathi.

6. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Unnao, UP.

7. Letter to a resident of Salisbury Park, Poona.

134. To Edwina Mountbatten: Programme for January⁸

Bombay
January 3, 1960

Dear Edwina,

I have received your letter of the 31st December here in Bombay where I have come for the Science Congress. I am returning to Delhi tomorrow.

I am glad that your programme has been fixed and that you will be reaching Delhi on the 24th January at 22:45 hours. I have informed Sri Prakasa⁹ about your brief stay for a few hours in Bombay and he will make the necessary arrangements. He is happy that you are coming to Bombay for a short time.

I shall be in Delhi throughout your stay there on the first occasion. I have no fixed programme yet for March. I have purposely avoided accepting engagements for March outside Delhi as that will be our Budget Session period. I may have to go perhaps to Madras for a couple of days.

I think that it would be better if you stopped at Calcutta before coming to Delhi in March. That will be on your way. Your Madras visit can be fixed up later.

The China-India border situation is a very difficult one for us and it is likely to become even more difficult after the winter. This makes it difficult for me to fix any definite programme for my visit to England. Of course, I shall go there for the Conference unless something very extraordinary happens. I fear however that my stay there will be a limited one.

This is a brief letter. I shall write to you more fully later.

Yours,
Jawahar

8. Letter.

9. Governor of Bombay State.

135. To Mulraj Kersondas: What are the Halwa and Tonic for?¹⁰

January 4, 1960

My dear Mulraj,

Yesterday in Bombay I received a small box containing some kind of halwa or some medicinal tonic. I do not know what it is. With this came your card. It is very good of you to send this. But I do not know what to do with it. I do not normally take these powerful tonics.¹¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

136. To R. R. Diwakar: Romain Rolland's Letters on Gandhi¹²

January 5, 1960

My dear Diwakar,

Our Ambassador in Moscow has sent me copies of two letters sent by Romain Rolland¹³ to Biryukov¹⁴ who was a mutual friend of his and Tolstoy's in the U.S.S.R. These letters contain references to Gandhiji. The original letters are in French and are in the Tolstoy Museum in Yasnaya Polyana. The Director of that Museum has sent these letters to our Ambassador.

These letters are interesting and might be kept in your museum.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Letter to a leading industrialist from Bombay. D-17/M Series, JNMF.

11. Kersondas replied on 6 January: "This is not a medicine but a Pak, which just like wine invigorates the body; with this difference that while wine though temporarily invigorating is bad to health, on the whole this Salem Pak if taken in small quantities regularly during the 6 or 8 months of winter, supplies the deficit energy to the body."

12. Letter to the President, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

13. French writer and a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi.

14. Pavel I. Biryukov (1860-1931); Tolstoy's biographer.

137. To A. A. Roback: Albert Schweitzer's Jubilee¹⁵

January 6, 1960

Dear Mr. Roback,

I have today received your letter of December 30, 1959. I met Dr. Amiya Chakravarty¹⁶ this afternoon. He did not give me the Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book to which you have referred, nor did he mention to me that I was being asked to contribute to the commemorative volume. He did tell me that Dr. Schweitzer's 85th birthday will be celebrated on the 16th January. I am sending a message to Dr. Schweitzer for this occasion.

I admire Dr. Schweitzer greatly, but I am afraid it is not possible for me to find time to write anything worthwhile. I am overburdened with work and, in fact, am leaving Delhi soon for other parts of India.

I enclose a copy of the message I have sent to Dr. Schweitzer today.¹⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

138. To William O. Douglas: No Time for Lectures¹⁸

January 8, 1960

My dear Justice Douglas,

Thank you for your letter of January 4. I have not yet received any invitation to give the A. Powell Davies¹⁹ Memorial Address in Washington this year. Such an invitation would be an honour. But I am afraid it is exceedingly difficult for

15. Letter to a noted psychologist.

16. Professor of Comparative Oriental Religions and Literature at Boston since 1953.

17. Message sent by Nehru: "On the occasion of your coming 85th birthday anniversary I send you my warm regards and good wishes. We have long admired your selfless work in Africa and have been deeply affected by your calls for peace in this distracted world. May your appeals receive the attention they deserve and firm steps towards peace be taken."

18. Letter to a Judge of the US Supreme Court.

19. A. Powell Davies (1902-1957); Unitarian minister in Washington, D.C. 1943-1957, and religious author and preacher; campaigned for civil rights and against nuclear proliferation and McCarthyism.

me to accept such invitations for lectures or addresses. You will appreciate that I must look after my own work and responsibilities first and they absorb all my time.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. To Morarji Desai: The Rajagopala Iyengar Case²⁰

Bangalore
January 12, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I am sending you some papers about one T. Rajagopala Iyengar. It reached me here. I have read through these papers. Apart from this, I do not know anything about this case; nor do I remember dealing with it previously.

This is an old, pre-Independence case and normally it would be difficult to interfere with it. You will see that Gopalaswami Ayyangar²¹ was approached in this matter in 1945 and 1946. In 1951 a representation was sent to the then Minister of Finance.²² I presume this was rejected.

The case appears to be a hard one and the man is now 79 years of age and is said to be destitute and helpless. I do not know if it is possible or desirable to reopen this case. At the most, perhaps, some kind of compassionate treatment might be given to him.

Perhaps you will be good enough to have this matter dealt with as you think proper.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. Letter.

21. Former Union Minister, died in 1953.

22. C. D. Deshmukh.

140. To K. Balakrishna Rao: Receptions²³

Bangalore
January 13, 1960

Dear Shri Balakrishna Rao,

I have your letter of the 10th January. I really do not know what you expect me to do about entertainments organised by the Reception Committee. That is not my function and I have nothing to do with it. In this matter you should deal with the Reception Committee directly. Personally, I am not very anxious to have entertainments during a period when I am very heavily occupied.

I am not aware of any occasion when a Congress Reception Committee invited cinema stars. Last year the function was organised in Nagpur at the time of the Congress. This was not by any committee of the Congress. It was by the organisers of the Savings Scheme in Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

141. To Robert B. Carson: No Time to Visit Iowa or America²⁴

Bangalore
January 13, 1960

Dear Mr. Carson,

Thank you for your letter of January 6th and your kind invitation to my daughter and me to visit the State of Iowa and particularly the City of Independence. I am afraid, however, that there is little chance of my going to the United States in the foreseeable future. I cannot leave India for any length of time and so, after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting, I shall have to return here.

I would have liked to avail myself of your kind invitation and I hope that some time in the future, this might be possible for me.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. Letter to a Member of the Mysore Legislative Council.

24. Letter to Robert B. Carson, Carson & Carson, Security State Bank Building, Independence, Iowa.

142. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Miscellaneous²⁵

Bangalore

January 14, 1960

Darling Nan,

Here I am attending (I think) my forty second session of the Congress!²⁶ Pantji and Lal Bahadur have not been able to come under doctor's orders. Pantji was very unhappy as he said that he had not missed a Congress session for forty years! He is getting rather frail and his voice is a little weaker and softer.

I received your letter as I was leaving Delhi. Beti²⁷ continues to surprise me. Her last but one letter to me, written from Bombay, informed me that she would not trouble me with letters in future. Soon after, another letter came from her from somewhere in Germany. A very affectionate letter but full of complaints of some of our embassy people in Paris.

Indu is staying here in the Congress camp. I am in the Maharaja's guest house. Bangalore is delightful and full of flowers.

I shall return to Delhi on the 19th and the very next day Voroshilov will be coming. He and other dignitaries will keep us busy till Parliament opens on Feb.8th.

Love

Jawahar

I am looking forward to your account of the Mountbatten wedding.²⁸

25. VLP Papers, NMML.

26. See items 11-21.

27. Krishna Hutheesing.

28. Pamela Mountbatten's wedding with David Nightingale Hicks, 13 January 1960.

143. To Brij Krishna Chandiwalla: To Birla Bhavan on 30 January²⁹

बंगलौर

16 जनवरी 1960

प्रिय ब्रज कृष्ण,

तुम्हारा 14 तारीख का पत्र मिला। 30 जनवरी को हर साल एक आम सभा दिल्ली में रामलीला के मैदान में हुआ करती है। इस साल भी वह निश्चित हो चुकी है, और सवा पाँच बजे का समय मुकर्रर हुआ है। ऐसी हालत में मैं बिड़ला भवन उस समय नहीं आ सकूँगा।

यों तो राष्ट्रपति जी जो समय पसन्द करें, उसी को रखना चाहिए। मुझे तो बिड़ला भवन उस दिन पाँच बजे सुबह जाना अच्छा लगता था।

तुम्हारा

जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

Bangalore

16 January 1960

Dear Brij Krishna,

Received your letter of the 14th. A public meeting is organised every year at the Ramlila Grounds/Maidan on 30th January. This year also it has been decided to hold it in the evening at 5.15 p.m. So, I cannot come to the Birla Bhavan in the evening.

Though whatever time the President desires to go there, it should be adhered to. However, I like to go to the Birla Bhavan in the morning at 5 o'clock.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends.]

29. Letter to Brij Krishna Chandiwalla, the convenor of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. B. K. Chandiwalla Papers, NMML.

144. To Adlai E. Stevenson: No Time to deliver Lectures³⁰

Bangalore

January 18, 1960

Dear Mr Stevenson,

Thank you for your letter of December 30th. I feel honoured by the invitation which you have been good enough to convey to me to deliver the second A. Powell Davies Memorial Address in Washington.³¹ Other friends, whose advice I value, have also urged me to accept this invitation.

Any such invitation cannot be lightly treated and I have, therefore, given a good deal of thought to it. You will believe me that it is with regret that I find myself unable to avail myself of it. The burden of work and problems in India grows and particularly in the near future I see no possibility of my being able to leave India. Probably I shall be attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in May next. Even that is a little difficult for me and if I go there, I shall have to return as soon as I can manage it.

I have had pressing invitations for a considerable time past from many countries in South America and Africa to visit them. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find the time to do so, much as I wanted to visit these countries. I have felt all along that the first claim on me is to discharge my duty in India to the best of my ability. I realise, of course, that this cannot be isolated from one's responsibilities in the world picture. And yet, even in this larger context, a measure of success in the more limited sphere perhaps produces some results.

I have had invitations from famous universities in the United States as well as in England to address them and I have been unable to accept these invitations, chiefly for lack of time. This is not merely a question of finding time to visit a place, but to have leisure to prepare something worth while and not merely to repeat some platitudes which may be very true, but have no freshness in them. I am not used to delivering formal addresses and the prospect rather alarms me. My day to day activities absorb all my attention. I realise that this is not a happy state of affairs, but I cannot escape from the prison of my own making.

I have read with deep appreciation the first A. Powell Davies Memorial Address which you delivered. You have set a standard which certainly I cannot hope to reach.

30. Letter to a senior Democratic Party politician of the USA.

31. See also item 138.

I trust you will appreciate my difficulties and convey my deep regrets to your committee.³²

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

145. To Frederic E. Holsinger: India and China³³

January 19, 1960

Dear Holsinger,

I have received your letter of the 11th January and have read it as well as the copy of the special article with much interest. What you have written may or may not be feasible. But obviously it has all manner of far-reaching consequences.

You suggest in your letter that arrangements should be made for you to come to Delhi immediately. I am afraid this is not possible, but you can meet our Deputy High Commissioner in London, Shri Azim Husain,³⁴ and speak to him frankly in this matter. Somewhat later in the year I shall be coming to London and you could meet me then.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. Nehru copied this letter to the following, informing them that he had regretted: Russell B. Adams, Chairman, A. Powell Davies Memorial Committee; Marquis Childs, the American journalist; J. R. Killian of MIT and George V. Allen, Director, United States Information Agency, Washington.

33. Letter to a British journalist.

34. See also item 146.

146. To Azim Husain: On Holsinger³⁵

January 19, 1960

My dear Azim Husain,

I have had rather an extraordinary letter from Frederic E. Holsinger (19 Lancaster Terrace, Bayswater Road, London, W.2).³⁶ I knew Holsinger long ago when he served for a while in the *Independent* newspaper of Allahabad with which I was connected. Later he was the editor of the *Indian Daily Mail* Bombay. He did not create any particular impression upon me and his views were sometimes rather odd.

Since, however, he has written to me and put forward an extraordinary proposal about India and China, I have acknowledged his letter and referred him to you. He wanted me to arrange to get him to India immediately. I have no intention of doing so. I have written a brief letter to him suggesting that he might see you. If he approaches you, you should see him and listen to what he says. He is apparently a great friend of Sundar Kabadi³⁷ whom you must know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. To Satya Roy: Netaji's Birth Anniversary³⁸

It is fitting that we celebrate the anniversary of the birthday³⁹ of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in a befitting manner. His name and work in India for our country's freedom have already passed into legend and are part of India's recent history. I send my good wishes on this occasion.

35. Letter to the Deputy High Commissioner of India in London.

36. See also item 145.

37. A friend and admirer of Jinnah's in Bombay and in London; later, representative of the Goenka newspaper group. See K. H. Khurshid, *Memories of Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 72-76).

38. Message to Satya Roy, Mother India Publication of Calcutta, 21 January 1960.

39. 23 January.

148. To Joseph R. Catania: Accepting Compliments⁴⁰

January 21, 1960

Dear Mr Catania,

Thank you for your letter of January 16th which I have been happy to read. It was very kind of you to write so generously about me. Whether I possess this spark or not still, it is not possible for me to judge. It is true, however, that public life and the kind of responsibilities I carry do not help to keep a flame alight.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

149. Robert F. Goheen: Declining Invitation to Princeton⁴¹

January 21, 1960

Dear Mr. Goheen,⁴²

Thank you for your letter of January 14.

I am afraid there is no chance of my being in the United States in the middle of June. It is true that I have to go to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London at the beginning of May. I shall have to return from there as soon as the Conference is over. As you well know, the problems and responsibilities I have to face in India are difficult and it is not possible for me to be away from India for any length of time.

It is very good of you to invite me to go to Princeton and there is hardly any place in the United States where I would like to go to more than Princeton. I have a high regard for your University and the work it has been doing and it would be a privilege for me to visit it. If and when I go to the United States, I shall certainly try to visit Princeton.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. Letter to a resident of Bronx, 56, NY., USA.

41. Letter.

42. (1919-2008); born in India to Presbyterian missionary parents; school education at Kodaikanal; Intelligence Officer during World War II; Assistant Professor, Princeton University, 1950-1957 and President, 1957-72; US Ambassador to India, 1977-80.

150. To B.D. Jatti: Help for B.S. Ramaswami Iyengar⁴³

January 21, 1960

My dear Jatti,

When I was in Bangalore, I received a letter from Shri B.S. Ramaswami Iyengar.⁴⁴ He also came to see me. Evidently he has been trying hard for many years to get some kind of a political pension or help.

I do not know what I can do about it. He is an oldish man now and evidently in considerable difficulties. I can send him a small sum of money as a temporary expedient, but I cannot possibly undertake responsibility for any kind of pension either from Government or non-Government sources.

Perhaps you could find out about him and suggest if you can do anything. I enclose two papers he gave me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Nehru's Books**151. To N.K. Seshan: Perverse Use of Law by Publishers in Japan⁴⁵**

Please inform the Asia Publishing House that they might exercise their own judgement in this matter. I am not particularly interested in the rate of royalty. But I do not like the way the Japanese publishers take up legal pleas. If, under Japanese law, they are free to publish any book, after ten years, without the payment of royalty, then why are they anxious to take my permission?

2. For the Japanese publishers to take shelter under the fact that we were not signatories to the San Francisco Peace Treaty may be legally right, but it is an odd argument to advance against any one in India. We did not sign the San

43. Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore.

44. President of the Bangalore City Congress Committee during the Civil Disobedience Movement. See also SWJN/FS/5/p. 249.

45. Note to Assistant Private Secretary to Nehru, Bangalore, 13 January 1960. Also available in JN Collection. This concerned the Japanese publication of *Glimpses of World History*.

Francisco Treaty because we did not wish to condemn Japan as that Treaty did, that is, our action in favour of Japan has now been used against us by the publishers.

3. However, I do not wish to enter into legal quibbles as *prima facie* the Japanese law is in favour of the publishers. I do not want our Law Ministry or our Embassy to be troubled about this matter any further. As I have said above, the Asia Publishing House can decide this matter as they think fit and proper. I shall abide by their decision.

152. To Humayun Kabir: Visiting Calcutta⁴⁶

Bangalore

January 14, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I have your two letters of January 12th. It is not possible for me to say now when I might be going to Calcutta next. I doubt if I can go there before the second half of March or the first half of April. But I cannot fix a date now, as that depends on a number of factors. President Nasser is likely to come then.

If and when I go to Calcutta, I shall certainly visit the National Library⁴⁷ and, if you like, participate in the foundation stone ceremony of the Writers Club building.

I do not very much fancy the idea of my being associated with the ceremony for a Bengali translation of my book "A Bunch of Old Letters."⁴⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. Letter to Union Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Humayun Kabir Papers. File No. 13/1960-61, NML Collection.

47. Kabir requested Nehru to lay the foundation stone of the annexe of the library.

48. M. C. Sarkar & Sons published the translation.

153. To H. K. Mahtab: Oriya version of *Discovery of India*⁴⁹

January 22, 1960

My dear Mahtab,

At Bangalore I showed you a letter from B.N. Panda of Berhampur who wanted my permission to translate my book *Discovery of India* into Oriya. You said, I think, that this man might be suitable for this translation.

On looking through my old papers, I find that another request for the Oriya translation of the *Discovery of India* was made to me by a firm of publishers, the Manmohan Bookshop of Cuttack. I referred this matter to you in October 1950 and you said you would enquire and let me know. I do not think you wrote to me further on this subject.

I shall be grateful if you could let me have your opinion as to what I should do now. Although we are interested in having a good translator, what really counts is a good publisher. Normally arrangements are not arrived at with translators but only with publishers. A translator might translate the book and then there might be difficulties about its publication. Therefore, if we agree to B.N. Panda's request, we shall have to find out who his publisher is and to see if he is a good publisher. Then we can proceed further.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) London Visit

154. To M. A. Husain: Engagements in London⁵⁰

January 1, 1960

My dear Azim,

I have seen your two letters dated December 22 and 23, addressed to my P.P.S. I am reluctant to accept any engagements in London at the time of the Prime Ministers' Conference. I have no idea of how long I shall be able to stay there as demands on me in India are great. It may be that by that time the situation on

49. Letter to the Chief Minister of Orissa. Nehru reminded Mahtab about this on 31 January as he had received no reply.

50. Letter to the Deputy High Commissioner of India in London.

our border itself might have become more serious after the winter.

However, I suppose I have to accept the luncheon of the Foreign Press Association, subject to a suitable time being fixed which does not conflict with important engagements. Please keep my week-ends free.

As for the Harrow School invitation, I find that this is a very old one. Apparently it has not been repeated. I do not like the idea of my reminding the Head Master and asking him to invite me afresh. If he writes, then we can take the matter up. Meanwhile, you might keep this in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

155. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: An Honorary Degree from Sheffield⁵¹

January 4, 1960

[Nan dear,]

R.A. Butler⁵² has written to me in his capacity as Chancellor of Sheffield University. He has invited me to be present at the Sheffield University on the 4th May for his Installation Ceremony, when some honorary degrees will also be presented. The idea is that I should get an honorary degree there.

I was at first inclined not to accept this invitation. But on reconsideration I have decided otherwise. This will give me an opportunity to go outside London. I enclose a copy of my letter to him. You might perhaps ring him up and confirm that he has got my letter.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

51. Letter.

52. Leader of the House of Commons and Home Secretary.

156. To R. A. Butler: Visiting Sheffield⁵³

January 4, 1960

My dear Butler,

I have just received your letter of the 29th December. Thank you for it.

I have been trying to avoid accepting engagements in England at the time of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meetings. Usually such engagements come in the way, to some extent, of the Conference or other important work. But I find it difficult to say no to your kind invitation as Chancellor of Sheffield University. One reason for this is that this will enable me to be with you for a little while.

But I have no idea how this can be fitted in with the Conference programme. If you think this is possible, then I shall gladly agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. Letter.

VII. APPENDICES

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China to the Embassy of India in China¹

[Refer to item 6, p. 55]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in China and has the honour to make the following observations on the Sino-Indian boundary question, which the Embassy is requested to transmit to the Indian Government:

On September 8, 1959, Premier Chou En-lai wrote to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, giving an over-all account of the historical background and the present actual situation of the Sino-Indian boundary question and the stand and policy of the Chinese Government.² Afterwards, Premier Chou En-lai and the Chinese Government received Prime Minister Nehru's letter of September 26³ and the Indian Ministry of External Affairs' note of November 4.⁴ In the said letter and note, the Indian Government indicated that it could not agree to Premier Chou En-lai's account of the facts regarding the boundary.

The Chinese Government is desirous at all times of maintaining friendship with the Indian Government and people, and, on the boundary question, of holding discussions with the Indian Government calmly and amicably and with an attitude which is fair both to itself and to others so as to seek a rapprochement of the views of the two sides. In view of the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary question is rather complex and that it would be extremely difficult to bring about a settlement through the exchange of letters, the Chinese Government has always maintained that face-to-face talks should be held speedily between the representatives of the Governments, first of all between the Prime Ministers of the two countries, so as more effectively to exchange views and reach agreement. But since the talks between the two Prime Ministers are yet to be decided on through consultations between the two sides, and the Indian Government has moreover complained that the Chinese Government has given no reply to the parts of the above-mentioned letter and note concerning facts about the boundary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China is instructed to make further observations on the major questions concerning the facts about

1. Note, 26 December 1959. From *White Paper No. III*, pp. 60-82.

2. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 27-33. Also available in SWJN/SS/52/pp. 309-316.

3. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 34-46. Also available in SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.

4. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 19-26. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 654-662.

the boundary, with reference to Premier Chou En-lai's letter of September 8, Prime Minister Nehru's letter of September 26 and the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs of November 4.

China and India are two peace-loving, big countries with a long history of mutual friendship and with many great common tasks both at present and in the future. Friendship between China and India is in the interests not only of the two peoples, but also of world peace, particularly of peace in Asia. The Chinese Government is therefore very reluctant to engage in arguments with the Indian Government over the boundary question. Unfortunately, the Sino-Indian boundary has never been delimited, Britain left behind in this respect a heritage of certain disputes, and moreover the Indian Government has made a series of unacceptable charges against China, thereby rendering these arguments unavoidable. Because the Indian Government has put forth a mass of detailed data on the boundary question, the Chinese Government feels sorry that, though trying its best to be brief, it cannot but refer in this reply to various details so as to clarify the true picture of the historical situation and the views of the two sides.

For convenience' sake, in the following paragraphs the section of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and Tibet on the one hand and Ladakh on the other will be termed the western sector, the section of the boundary from the southeastern end of the western sector to the converging point of China, India and Nepal the middle sector, and the section of the boundary east of Bhutan the eastern sector.

QUESTION I.

Has The Sino-Indian Boundary Been Formally Delimited?

The reason for the present existence of certain disputes over the Sino-Indian boundary is that the two countries have never formally delimited this boundary and that there is a divergence of views between the two countries regarding the boundary. According to the Indian maps, the boundary line in the western sector cuts deep into Chinese territory, including an area of over 33,000 square kilometers in India; the boundary line in the middle sector is relatively close to the delineation on the Chinese maps, but still a number of areas which have always belonged to China are included in India; and in the eastern sector, the whole boundary line is pushed northward, including in India an area of 90,000 square kilometers which originally belonged to China. The Chinese Government, therefore, considers it necessary to conduct friendly negotiations to bring about a reasonable settlement. The Indian Government, however, holds that the greater

part of the Sino-Indian boundary line as shown on current Indian maps is defined by international agreements and therefore sees no reason to hold overall boundary negotiations. Thus, the negotiations themselves have run up against difficulties and there is the danger of the boundary disputes remaining deadlocked for a long time. The Chinese Government considers that to say that the greater part of the Sino-Indian boundary has been formally delimited by international agreements is totally inconsistent with the facts. The Chinese Government wishes to make the following explanations:

(1) Concerning the western sector. The Indian Government holds that the boundary line it claims was fixed by a treaty concluded between the authorities of the Tibet region of China and the Kashmir authorities in 1842.

But firstly, this treaty merely mentioned that the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet would be maintained as it had been and that both sides would hold to their confines and refrain from encroaching on each other. The treaty contained no provision or hint whatsoever about the concrete location of the boundary. None of the arguments advanced by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter of September 26, 1959, to Premier Chou En-lai to the effect that the location of the boundary has been long established can prove that the boundary line now claimed by the Indian Government is well-founded.

Secondly, the 1842 treaty was concluded between the authorities of the Tibet region of China and the Kashmir authorities, but the greatest part (about 80 per cent) of the area now disputed by the Indian Government is part of China's Sinkiang which was no party to the treaty. It is obviously inconceivable to hold that, judging by this treaty, vast areas of Sinkiang have ceased to belong to China but have become part of Ladakh. The British Government proposed in 1899 to delimit the boundary between Ladakh and Kashmir on the one hand and Sinkiang on the other, but nothing came of it. It is also inconceivable to hold that the territory of another country can be annexed by a unilateral proposal.

Thirdly, there are many indisputable positive evidences to show that the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary is not delimited. For instance, (a) Between 1921 and 1927, the British Indian Government made many representations to the authorities of China's Tibet region, asking to delimit the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet, but without any result. This is testified by many documents exchanged between the two sides at the time, and is also confirmed by Sir Arthur Lothian, the Briton who acted as the representative of India, in his letter to the London *Times* published on December 11, 1959. (b) According to data now available to the Chinese Government, no boundary line was drawn at all in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border on the official map published by the Survey of India as late as 1943. On the official Indian map of the 1950 edition, the present version of the boundary line was shown in

a most equivocal way, but was still marked by the words "Boundary Undefined." It is only since 1954 that this undelimited sector of the boundary has suddenly become a delimited boundary. (c) Referring to this sector of the boundary in the Lok Sabha of India on August 28, 1959, Prime Minister Nehru declared that: "This was the boundary of the old Kashmir state with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Nobody had marked it."⁵ All the above-mentioned facts are absolutely incompatible with the allegation that this sector of the boundary was delimited long ago. It is unthinkable that the Indian Government which held that this sector of the boundary had explicitly been delimited in 1842 or 1899 would, between 1921 and 1927, still ask continually for negotiations to delimit it; that it would in 1943 still admit the absence of any determined boundary; that it would in 1950 still declare the mere existence of a boundary undefined; and that it would in 1959 still proclaim that nobody had marked the boundary.

(2) Concerning the middle sector. The Indian Government considers that the specification in Article IV of the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement of six passes in this area as passages for traders and pilgrims of both countries indicates that the Chinese Government has already concurred in the Indian Government's opinion about this sector of the boundary. The Chinese Government holds that this allegation is untenable both factually and logically.

The question of the boundary between the two countries was not touched on at all in the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement or during its negotiations. The Chinese side's draft wording for Article IV of the Agreement was that "The Chinese Government agrees to open the following mountain passes in the Ari district of the Tibetan region of China for entry and exit by traders and pilgrims of both parties." The Indian side disagreed with the Chinese draft; its own draft wording was that "Traders and pilgrims from India and western Tibet may travel by the routes traversing the following localities and passes." Later on the two sides agreed to change the wording into: "Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and route." The concession made by the Chinese Government was only to adopt a wording which does not involve the ownership of these passes. Nobody can draw from this the conclusion that this sector of the boundary between the two countries has thus been fixed. On the contrary, the Chinese representative, Vice-Foreign Minister Chang Han-fu, in his talk with the Indian representative, Ambassador Mr. N. Raghavan, on April 23, 1954 clearly stated that the Chinese side did not wish, in those negotiations, to touch on the boundary question. And Ambassador N. Raghavan agreed forthwith. The Chinese Government therefore maintains that there is no

5. See SWJN/ SS/51/p. 481.

ground to say that this sector of the boundary has been delimited and that there is no need to conduct negotiations for its delimitation.

(3) Concerning the eastern sector. The Indian Government holds that the so-called McMahon Line is the product of the 1914 Simla Conference jointly attended by Britain, China and the Tibet region of China, and is therefore valid. The Chinese Government holds that the so-called McMahon Line is wholly illegal, and the Indian Government's assertion is utterly unacceptable to the Chinese Government.

Firstly, it is known to the world that the Simla Convention itself is void of legal validity. The Chinese representative Ivan Chen attending the Simla Conference not only refused to sign the Simla Convention, but acting under instructions from the Chinese Government formally declared at the Conference on July 3, 1914 that the Chinese Government would not recognise any treaty or similar document that might then or thereafter be signed between Britain and Tibet. Similar declarations were made in formal notes delivered to the British Government on July 3 and 7 the same year by Minister of the Chinese Government in Britain Lew Yuk-lin. All Chinese Governments since then persisted in this stand. Many dirty unequal treaties signed by the past Chinese Governments under imperialist oppression have already been proclaimed null and void. The Chinese Government feels perplexed why the Government of India, which has likewise won independence from under imperialist oppression, should insist that the Government of its friend China recognise an unequal treaty which the Chinese Government has not even signed.

Secondly, the Indian Government asserts that the boundary between India and Tibet was discussed at the Simla Conference, that the Chinese Government never objected at the time or afterwards to the discussion of the boundary between India and Tibet at the Conference, and that therefore the agreement which resulted from the Conference in regard to the McMahon Line boundary between India and Tibet must be regarded as binding on China. But this line of argument, from beginning to end, is inconsistent with the facts. As a matter of fact, the Simla Conference only discussed the boundary between the Tibet region and the rest of China and the boundary between so-called Outer and Inner Tibet, it never discussed the boundary between China and India. The so-called McMahon Line boundary between China and India was the result of the exchange of secret letters at Delhi on March 24, 1914 between the British representative and the representative of the then Tibet local authorities. It was in no way made known to China. It also means that it was never placed on the agenda of the Simla Conference. A section of the red line shown on the map attached to the Simla Convention corresponds with the so-called McMahon Line, but that red line was presented as the boundary between Tibet and the rest

of China, and it was never stated that part of the red line was the boundary between China and India. Since the so-called question of Sino-Indian boundary never existed at the Simla Conference and in the Simla Convention, the Chinese Government naturally would not refer to this question or the question of the so-called McMahon Line in its memorandum and its suggestions for the revision of the Simla Convention. The Indian Government has pointed to the fact that the Chinese Government at the time did not raise any objection to the so-called McMahon Line. But this fact only shows that the Chinese Government was completely unaware of the existence of the question of the so-called McMahon Line, and can in no way prove that the Line was legal or was accepted by the Chinese Government. It can thus be seen that the so-called McMahon Line is more unsavoury and more unpresentable than the Simla Convention, and it is indeed all the more strange to assert that it is binding on the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government would like to ask the Indian Government whether, among all the proceedings of the Simla Conference, it can point to any particular date of the Conference or any particular article of the Convention when and where the Sino-Indian boundary question, and particularly the question of the so-called McMahon Line, was referred to.

In addition, it must also be pointed out that it is beyond doubt that Britain had no right to conduct separate negotiations with Tibet. Indeed, the Chinese Government made repeated statements to this effect; as to the British Government, it too was strictly bound by the 1907 agreement on Tibet concluded between it and the old Russian Government not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government. Therefore, judging by this treaty obligation alone which was undertaken by the British Government, the secret exchange of letters in 1914 between the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities behind the back of the Chinese Government is void of any legal validity.

Thirdly, the assertion that China did not raise any objection to the so-called McMahon Line boundary between China and India is also inconsistent with the fact. It was during the most difficult period of China's War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression that the so-called McMahon Line gradually and unofficially appeared on Indian maps; and after 1943 the Tibet local authorities were under the firm control of British imperialism and their relations with the Chinese Central Government, steadily deteriorated. Nevertheless, on learning that Britain had gradually encroached on Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line, the Kuomintang Government four times protested by addressing notes to the British Embassy in China after the conclusion of the Anti-Japanese War, in July, September and November of 1946 and January of 1947. Since Britain shifted its responsibility onto India, the Kuomintang Government protested by

note with the Indian Embassy in China in February 1947. Even up to November 18, 1949, Lo China-lun, Ambassador to India of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which then still maintained diplomatic relations with the Indian Government, delivered a note to the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, repudiating the Simla Convention which the Indian Government held to be valid. The Government of the People's Republic of China, since establishing diplomatic relations with the Government of India, has repeatedly stated the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary has not been delimited. During Prime Minister Nehru's visit in China in 1954, Premier Chou En-lai made it clear that the Sino-Indian boundary was yet to be delimited. Premier Chou also said that the reason why the delineation of old maps was followed in Chinese maps was that the Chinese Government had not yet undertaken a survey of China's boundary, nor consulted with the countries concerned, and that it would not make changes in the delineation of the boundary on its own. This was reiterated in the memorandum delivered to the Indian Embassy in China by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on November 3, 1958. Besides, even the local authorities of Tibet did not regard as reasonable the so-called McMahon Line, which was the product of underhand schemes; they repeatedly objected to this line and asked for the return of occupied Chinese territory south of the line. This fact is not denied even by the Indian Government.

Fourthly, not only the so-called McMahon Line boundary between China and India has never been recognised by the Chinese Government; its validity was for a long time questioned by the Indian and the British Governments. The so-called McMahon Line was not adopted on the official map "Tibet and Adjacent Countries" published by the Survey of India in 1938, nor on the map "India" in the sixth edition of the *Oxford Advanced Atlas*, 1940, compiled by John Bartholomew, cartographer to the King of Britain. Neither was the so-called McMahon Line followed in drawing the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary on the map "India 1945" attached to the 1951 3rd edition in English of "The Discovery of India," written by Prime Minister Nehru himself and first published in 1946. Although the so-called McMahon Line was drawn on the official maps of India published by the Survey of India in 1950, 1951 and 1952. It was still marked as undemarcated. Up to 1958, on the map "China West and Tibet" in the *Times Atlas Of The World* edited by John Bartholomew, cartographer to the King of Britain, the traditional Sino-Indian boundary line and the so-called McMahon Line were both drawn with the words "Disputed Area" marked between the lines. All these authoritative facts squarely refute the Indian Government's argument that this sector of the boundary has been delimited. The Indian Government contends that Britain withheld the publication of the Simla Convention for years in the hope that there would be an agreement

about the status and boundary of Inner Tibet. That this assertion cannot help the Indian Government out of its difficulties is already explained as above, the assertion moreover adds to its difficulties. What meaning can the Simla Convention have, when the British Government also admitted that no agreement was reached on it? And since the Convention itself has not acquired validity, what can be said for the so-called Sino-Indian boundary line which was never proposed to the Chinese Government and which the British unilaterally meant to smuggle into this Convention? In fact, British officials who once held posts in India, though by no means pro-Chinese, also admit that the McMahon Line is legally untenable and actually ineffective. For instance, Henry Twynam, who was Acting Governor of Assam, India, in 1939, testified in his letter to the *London Times* published on September 2, 1959, that this line "does not exist, and never has existed."

From what has been said in the above, the following incontestable inclusion can be drawn: The entire Sino-Indian boundary, whether in its western, middle, or eastern sector, has not been delimited. The 1842 Treaty, on which the Indian Government bases itself, did not define any boundary line for the western sector of the Sino-Indian border; and moreover, China's Sinkiang region, which is most concerned with this sector of the boundary, was no party to this Treaty. The 1954 Agreement, on which the Indian Government bases itself, did not involve the middle or any other sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. The 1914 Convention, on which the Indian Government bases itself, is itself void of legal validity, and the Sino-Indian boundary was never discussed at the 1914 Conference. That the Sino-Indian boundary is yet to be delimited has been recognised by the Indian and British Governments over a long period of time, and is borne out by indisputable evidences. In order to achieve a reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute satisfactory to both sides, there is no other way except the holding of friendly negotiations.

QUESTION II.

Where Is The Traditional Customary Sino-Indian Boundary Line?

Although the Sino-Indian boundary has not been formally delimited, both sides acknowledge the existence of a traditional customary line, that is, the line formed by the extent of jurisdiction exercised historically by each side. The present question is that the two sides hold very different conceptions of the position of the traditional customary line. In drawing the boundary (mainly the eastern and western sectors) on its maps, the Indian Government has gone far beyond the extent of its original actual jurisdiction; it asserts that this is not only based on

international treaties, but is the traditional customary line itself. The Chinese Government holds that the delineations of the Sino-Indian boundary on current Indian maps, which differ greatly from those on Chinese maps, are not based on any international treaty, as stated above, and, what is more, are not based on tradition and custom.

(1) Concerning the western sector. The area of over 33,000 square kilometers now disputed by India has always belonged to China. This is conclusively borne out by Chinese official documents and records. Except for the very small area of Parigas which has been occupied by India in recent years, the remaining broad area has always been under the effective control of the Chinese Government. The major part of this area is under the jurisdiction of Hotien County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China, while the minor part under that of Rudok *Dzong* of the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China. Though sparsely populated, this area has all along been a place for pasturage and salt-mining for the Uighur and Kirghiz people living in the southwestern border of Sinkiang and a part of the Tibetan people living in the northwestern border of Tibet. Many places of this area are named in the Uighur language. For instance, Aksai Chin, which is part of Hotien County of Sinkiang, means 'the desert of white stones' in the Uighur language; while the Karakash River which flows through this area means "the river of the black jade" in the Uighur language.

This area is the only traffic artery linking Sinkiang and western Tibet, because to its northeast lies the great Gobi of Sinkiang through which direct traffic with Tibet is practically impossible. Therefore, since the middle of the eighteenth century, the Government of the Ching Dynasty of China had established *Karens* (check-posts) to exercise jurisdiction over and patrol this area. In the decades from the founding of the Republic of China till the liberation of China, there were troops constantly guarding this area. After the liberation of Sinkiang in 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army took over the guarding of the frontier in this area from Kuomintang troops. In the latter half of 1950, it was through this area that the Chinese Government dispatched the first units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet. In the nine years since then, the Chinese troops stationed in the Ari district have regularly and frequently brought up indispensable supplies from Sinkiang through this area. From March 1956 to October 1957, the Chinese Government built along the customary route a motor-road from Yehcheng of Sinkiang to Gartok of Tibet of a total length of 1,200 kilometers, of which a section of the 180 kilometers runs through this area, and over 3,000 civilian workers took part in its construction.

These unshakable facts should have been sufficient to prove beyond dispute

that this area is Chinese territory.

The Indian Government asserts that this area “has been associated with India’s culture and tradition for the last two thousand years or so, and has been an intimate part of India’s life and thought.” But firstly, the Indian Government fails to give any concrete facts to support its contention. On the contrary, Prime



[From left above: Nehru; G.B. Pant; waiter; V.K.K. Menon; Lakshmi Menon; others.]

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 10 JANUARY 1960)

Minister Nehru said in the Rajya Sabha of India on September 10, 1959, that this area “has not been under any kind of administration.”⁶ On November 23, 1959, he said again in the Rajya Sabha of India: “During British rule, as far as I know, this area was neither inhabited by any people nor were there any outposts.” Though Prime Minister Nehru is in no position to judge correctly the conditions prevailing on the Chinese side, his words do prove authoritatively that India has never exercised control over this area.

Secondly, the Indian Government says that it has been sending regular patrols to this area, and that this is one way India exercises its jurisdiction. According to data available to the Chinese Government, however, armed Indian personnel intruded only three times into this area to carry out reconnaissance, namely, in



6. See SWJN/SS/52/p. 186.

September 1958, July 1959 and October 1959, and on each occasion they were promptly detained and then sent out of China by Chinese frontier guards. Apart from these three intrusions, they have never been to this area. It is precisely for this reason that the Indian Government has been so unaware of the long-term activities of the Chinese personnel in this area that it declares that it was in 1957 that Chinese personnel first entered this area.

Thirdly, the Indian Government has referred to a number of maps to corroborate what it has claimed to be the traditional customary line. But the situation in this respect is not favourable to India's arguments either. Despite slight discrepancies at some places, the delineations of the western sector of the boundary on the maps published in China in the past one to two hundred years have in the main been consistent. The Indian Government says that the delineation of the western sector of the boundary on an official Chinese map published in 1893 approximates to that of the Indian maps. The Chinese Government does not know what map is referred to here and, consequently, is unable to comment on it. As to the Atlas published in 1917 by the British-owned paper, the *North China Daily News and Herald*, it can only represent the British view but not the Chinese, and there is no need to discuss it here.

By contrast, there have been considerable contradictions and confusion in the delineations of the boundary on maps published in Britain and India in the past century and more. This is because, after occupying Kashmir, Britain actively tried to use it as a base for aggression against China's southern Sinkiang and northwestern Tibet and, therefore, it continually made arbitrary changes in the traditional customary boundary line in the western sector and sent surveying parties to intrude into China for this purpose. Prime Minister Nehru says that "accurate" maps, that is, maps in agreement with the current Indian maps, became possible only from 1865 after surveys. But, even so, some reputed surveyors did not wish to misrepresent the facts at will. For instance, the delineations of the boundary on the "Sketch Map of Eastern Turkestan" of 1870 by G. W. Hayward and on the "Sketch Map of the Country North of India" of 1871 by Robert Shaw—both surveyors being referred to by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter of September 26—are close to the traditional customary line as shown on Chinese maps. In his article in the *Journal Of The British Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XL, 1870, Hayward stated explicitly that the boundary ran along the main chain of the Karakoram mountain to the passes in Chang-chenmo, that is to say, it is the Chinese maps, rather than the current Indian maps, that have correctly delineated this sector of the boundary. What is of special significance is the fact that no boundary line, let alone an "accurate" boundary line, was drawn at all for this sector on the official map compiled by the Survey of India as late as the 1943 edition. On its 1950 map

though the same colour for Kashmir was painted in the area disputed by India, still no boundary line was drawn, and there were marked the words "Boundary Undefined." This fact has already been pointed out above.

Fourthly, the Indian Government says that the traditional customary line claimed by it possesses in addition, distinct geographical features, that is, it runs along the watershed. However, to begin with, the principle of watershed is not the sole or main international principle for the delimitation of boundaries. It is particularly impermissible to use the watershed as a pretext for seeking a boundary line within the territory of another country. Next, the traditional customary line claimed by the Indian Government, instead of separating the Hotien River system from the Indus River system, actually cuts across the Hotien River system. On the contrary, the traditional customary line as shown on Chinese maps truly reflects the geographical features of this area, that is, having no steep slopes in the north-south direction, the area is easily passable and, therefore, naturally forms the only route linking Sinkiang and western Tibet. To the west, however, there lies between this region and Ladakh the towering Karakoram mountain range which is extremely difficult to pass through. The Indian Government also admits that this area is extremely difficult of access from Ladakh.

It can thus be seen that judging by the actual administrative jurisdiction at all times or by the maps and geographical features referred to by India, the line claimed by India to be "the traditional customary boundary line in the western sector is without any foundation; while the traditional customary line for which China stands is truly well-founded.

(2) Concerning the middle sector. The disputed areas involved here owing to difference of conception between the two sides regarding the traditional customary line—Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Wuje, Sangcha and Laphal—are all traditional Chinese territory. Except Sang and Tsungsha which were invaded and occupied by Britain earlier, they were all occupied or intruded into by India only after the signing of the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement.

The local authorities of the Tibet region have kept up to now the land-conferring documents or land deeds concerning these places issued in the past few centuries. For example, the mandate issued in the name of the 7th Dalai Lama in the 18th century stated specifically that Wuje was within the territorial limits of Daba *Dzong* of Tibet. Furthermore, the local authorities of the Tibet region have all along been collecting taxes in these places, and the census record and taxation papers of some of these places have been well preserved down to the present time.

Nearly all those who have lived long in these places are of the Tibetan

nationality of China. Despite foreign occupation of their places of residence, they still did not wish to be separated from their motherland. For instance, after Sang and Tsungsha were occupied by Britain, the local population still considered themselves Chinese nationals, and on more than one occasion pledged their allegiance to the local government of the Tibet region of China in statements made to the local authorities of the Tibet region.

It must be pointed out in particular that among the above-mentioned places, Puling-Sumdo is one of the ten places which the Chinese Government agreed to open as markets for trade in the Ari district of Tibet as specified in Article II Section 2 of the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954. It was opened together with the nine other markets in compliance with request made by Mr. N. Raghavan, representative of the Indian Government and Indian Ambassador, at the first meeting of the negotiations. Puling-Sumdo, however, was occupied by India soon after the signing of the 1954 Agreement.

The Indian Government claims that it has all along been exercising jurisdiction over the above-mentioned places. However, in the note annexed to Prime Minister Nehru's letter of September 26, 1959, apart from some extremely strained arguments in connection with Sang and Tsungsha, there are no concrete facts whatever to show that jurisdiction has always been exercised over the seven other places.

The principle of watershed put forward by the Indian Government cannot be applied here either, as it does not conform with the jurisdiction actually exercised by each side.

The maps published by the two sides also show that it is China, not India, which has abided by the traditional customary line. The delineations of this sector of the boundary on past Chinese maps, though leaving a few very small pieces of Chinese territory outside of the Chinese boundary, on the whole reflected the correct traditional customary line. On the other hand, no boundary line was drawn for this sector on official Indian maps even as late as 1950, and only the words "Boundary Undefined" were marked.

(3) Concerning the eastern sector. The area between the so-called McMahon Line and the boundary line at the southern foot of the Himalayas as shown on Chinese maps has always belonged to China, and was until recently still under Chinese jurisdiction. This is proved by a mass of facts.

As early as the middle of the seventeenth century, the local government of the Tibet region of China had begun to exercise jurisdiction over this area comprising Monyul, Loyul and Lower Tsayul. Take the Monyul area for example. In the middle of the seventeenth century, when the fifth Dalai Lama unified Tibet, he sent his disciple Mera Lama and tribal chief Namka Drukda, Dinpon of Tsona, to the Monyul area to establish their rule there. By the beginning of

the eighteenth century, the local government of the Tibet region had unified the whole of Monyul and divided the area gradually into 32 "tso" (a few named "din"). At Tawang, the capital of Monyul, an administrative committee known as "Tawang Shidrel" and a non-permanent administrative conference of a higher level known as "Tawang Drudrel" were set up to direct the affairs of the whole area. The local government of the Tibet region used always to appoint the officials of the administrative organs at various levels in Monyul, collect taxes (mainly grain tax, twice a year) and exercise judicial authority in all parts of the area. Monyul was included in every census conducted in Tibet in the past and was not treated as an exceptional case. The religious, economic and cultural life of the local people, the Monbas, has been deeply influenced by the Tibetan nationality; they believe in Lamaism, can speak the Tibetan language, and used Tibetan currency. It is from the Monyul area that the 6th Dalai Lama, Tsanyun Gyaltsso, hailed, and his house there received for all generations the mandates conferred by successive regimes of the Tibet region.

In addition, it must be pointed out that even after the so-called McMahon Line was defined and made public, the local government of the Tibet region continued to exercise extensively and for a long period of time its jurisdiction over this area. For instance, the Tibetan administrative institutions in Monyul had been almost kept intact until 1951. In Loyul and Lower Tsayul, up to 1946, the administrative organs of "tso" and "din" were maintained quite extensively, and the people continued to pay taxes and render *corvee* to the Lhasa authorities.

Therefore, the allegations of the Indian Government that "the Tibetan authorities have not exercised jurisdiction at any time in this area," that the local "tribes have not been affected in the slightest degree by any Tibetan influence, cultural, political or other," and so on are incredible.

The Indian Government claims that it has always exercised jurisdiction over this area. However, in Prime Minister Nehru's own words, Indian administration had "gradually moved up" to this area; the tribes had generally been left "more or less to look after themselves" until around 1914; and British political officers only "visited these areas." And what did the British officers who had visited this area say? The Captain Bailey referred to by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter of September 26, 1959, who was specially sent by the British Indian Government in 1913 to southeastern Tibet to conduct illegal exploration and survey for the purpose of defining the so-called McMahon Line, described the jurisdiction of the Tibet local government over the Monyul area at the time in his book "No Passport To Tibet" published in 1957; he further stated in his letter to the London *Times* published on September 7 this year that, "When we reached Tawang (i.e. capital of Monyul), we found a purely Tibetan administration in force." Even Christoph Von Fürer-Haimendorf, then Special

Officer of the Indian External Affairs Department in Subansiri, who was sent by the Indian Assam authorities in 1944, that is, thirty years after the so-called McMahon Line was defined, to explore this area, also testified in his book "Himalayan Barbary" published in 1955, that the frontier in this area was undefined and unsurveyed, and remained unadministered by the Indian authorities. It can thus be seen how untenable are the assertions that the area has belonged to India for tens and hundreds of years that the current boundary has always been the historical boundary, etc., etc.

The Indian Government says that the British concluded a number of agreements with some of the local tribes between 1844 and 1888 and that these agreements are evidence of Indian jurisdiction. However, the 1853 agreement with the Monbas cited by Prime Minister Nehru begins with the statement by the Monbas: "We...being deputed by the Daba Rajas to carry letters of friendship to the Agent, Governor-General, North-East Frontier, desiring that the former friendly relations which existed between the Government of India and our Lhasa Government...should be again resumed..." This passage proves exactly and indisputably that the Monbas belong to Tibet, not India, and that it was under the premise of recognising them as belonging to Tibet that the Indian Government concluded the agreement with them. The Daba Rajas referred to here was the Regent of the local government of the Tibet region. As to the agreements with the Abors and the Akas cited, it can also be seen clearly from their texts that the areas of those tribes were not British territory. Some of the agreements even stated explicitly that British territory "extends to the foot of the hills (i.e., southern foot of the Himalayas)." And these peoples were not British subjects.

It can be seen from the above historical data provided by the Chinese and Indian sides respectively that this area always belonged to China, not to Britain or India.

This conclusion is further confirmed forcefully by the authoritative maps published in the two countries. The maps published in China as a rule include this area in Chinese territory, that is, marking the boundary line along the true traditional boundary at the southern foot of the Himalayas. According to material now available to the Chinese Government, the same delineation was followed on the official maps published by the Survey of India up to and including the 1938 edition. After 1938 and up to 1952, the Survey of India changed its delineation by marking the boundary in accordance with the so-called McMahon Line, but still using marking for undemarcated boundary. Since 1954, it has again changed the undemarcated boundary into demarcated boundary. By these successive changes; it shifted from its original position of recognising this area as Chinese territory to that of claiming this area as India's lawful territory at all

times. Nevertheless, the delineation on current Indian maps has not been accepted internationally. As stated above, the *atlas* edited by John Bartholomew, cartographer to the King of Britain, and published in 1958 still considered it a disputed area, while the delineation on the map "India 1945", attached to Prime Minister Nehru's book "The Discovery Of India," was still the same as that on Chinese maps.

In the face of these authoritative facts, the Atlas of the Chinese Empire published in London in 1906 by the China Inland Mission, a British church organisation, to which the Indian Government referred, is obviously without significance.

It can be seen from what has been said in the above that the Chinese Government's view of the traditional customary line is based on objective facts and confirmed by a mass of factual data in all its sectors, western, middle and eastern. On the other hand, the boundary line marked on Indian maps, with the exception of the middle sector which for the most part conforms to reality, does not represent at all the traditional customary line. The eastern and western sectors of this boundary line, it can in particular be seen beyond any shadow of doubt, are the product of the British policy of aggression and expansion in modern history.

It should not have been necessary to discuss the British policy of aggression and expansion in modern history, as the history of India itself, the history of India's adjacent countries which had once been a part of British India or its dependency, the history of China, and, in particular, the history of China's Tibet region bordering adjoining India, all bear witness to this policy. While embarking on armed aggression against Tibet and conspiring to cause Tibet to break away from China, Britain also nibbled at the frontiers of Tibet both on the maps and in deed, which resulted in this boundary Line that was later inherited by India and is marked on current Indian maps. Of course, the great Indian people, who treasure peace, can in no way be held responsible for all the acts of aggression committed by Britain with India as its base. It is, however, surprising that the Indian Government should claim the boundary line which Britain unlawfully created through aggression against Tibet and which even includes areas to which British authority had not extended as the traditional customary boundary line, while perversely describing the true traditional customary boundary line pointed out by the Chinese Government on the basis of objective facts as laying claim to large tracts of Indian territory. How would the Indian Government feel, if it were in the position of the Chinese Government? If this assertion is maintained, the inevitable conclusion to be derived would be that the British colonialists were most fairminded while oppressed China was full of undisguised ambitions; that the powerful British imperialism was, for the past one hundred years and

more, invariably upholding the traditional Sino-Indian boundary, while the weak China was ceaselessly encroaching upon British territory! The Chinese Government believes that no one would accept this conclusion.

Question III.

What is the Proper Way To Settle The Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute?

The Chinese Government, starting from the above-mentioned facts that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formerly delimited and that there is difference of conception between the two sides regarding the boundary, has consistently held that an overall settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should be sought by the Chinese and Indian sides, taking into account the historical background and present actual situation, in accordance with the Five Principles and through friendly consultations; that pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the status quo of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, let alone by force; and that as to some of the disputes, partial and provisional agreements could be reached through negotiations.

The Indian Government disagrees with the Chinese Government's statement that the boundary has not been delimited and an over-all settlement of the question should be sought through negotiations, and only acknowledges that certain minor, partial adjustments could be made. Yet the Indian Government agrees that the two sides should maintain the status quo of the border, avoid the use of force and settle the disputes through negotiations. Thus, although there are differences between the two sides, the tranquillity of the border and the friendship of the two countries could have been ensured. Contrary to the expectations of the Chinese Government, the Indian Government has time and again asserted that the Chinese Government had previously agreed that the boundary had been delimited and accepted the Indian Government's claim regarding the boundary and that the Chinese Government changed its stand only recently. At the same time, the Indian Government has also made incorrect interpretations of the status quo of the border, repeatedly violated the status quo in actual deeds and even resorted to force, thus creating tension on the border. In these circumstances, the Indian Government has perversely charged that the Chinese Government should be held responsible for all this and said that China harboured ambitions of "aggression" and "expansion." The above-mentioned attitude of the Indian Government has made the boundary question all the more difficult and complicated.

Therefore, the Chinese Government deems it necessary to clarify the

following points:

1. Whether the Chinese Government has ever agreed that the boundary was delimited and accepted the Indian Government's claim regarding the boundary and changed its stand afterwards.

The Indian Government has referred to the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954, holding that this Agreement has dealt with all the outstanding issues between India and the Tibet region and that therefore the boundary question should be considered settled.

As a matter of fact, the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954 is an agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India and has nothing to do with the boundary question and no provision concerning the boundary can be found in any article of the Agreement. It may be recalled that at that time, the question which the two countries were most concerned about and which called for urgent solution was the establishment of normal relations between India and the Tibet region of China on a new basis. During the negotiations, neither side asked to discuss the boundary question; this was intended to avoid affecting the settlement of the most urgent question at the time. Both sides were clear on this point. At the very beginning of the negotiations, Premier Chou En-lai made it clear to the Indian Government Delegation that the task of the negotiations was "to settle those outstanding questions between the two countries which are ripe for settlement." Afterwards, at the fourth meeting held on January 8, 1954 the two sides jointly defined the task of the negotiations as settling those outstanding questions between the two countries which were ripe for settlement in accordance with the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. On April 23 of the same year, the Chinese representative further pointed out that the negotiations would not touch on the boundary question. The Indian representative agreed to this view of the Chinese side. There was, therefore, no fact whatever to show that the Chinese Government agreed to the Indian Government's conception of the boundary or that it would not bring up the boundary question for discussion afterwards.

The Indian Government has also referred to the talks between the two Prime Ministers in Peking in October 1954, expressing the view that Premier Chou En-lai's remarks about Chinese maps implied that the Chinese Government would revise its maps in accordance with Indian maps, that is to say, the Chinese Government had accepted the Indian Government's claim regarding the boundary.

The fact is that at that time Prime Minister Nehru took exception to the delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary line on Chinese maps and therefore Premier Chou En-lai explained that the delineation of the boundary on Chinese maps followed that of the old maps and that it would not be fitting for the

Chinese Government, on its own, to change the delineation of the boundary before conducting surveys and consulting with the countries concerned. In particular, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out at the time that China has undelimited boundaries with India and some other southwestern neighbouring countries. Prime Minister Nehru said, however, that he considered that no boundary question existed between China and India. It can be seen from this conversation that there was an obvious difference of views between the two sides regarding the boundary, and that Premier Chou En-lai clearly expressed his disagreement to any unilateral revision of maps.

The Indian Government has also referred to the talks between the two Prime Ministers held in India at the end of 1956, considering that Premier Chou En-lai's remarks made at the time about the so-called McMahon Line implied that the Chinese Government recognised this line.

In fact, when Premier Chou En-lai referred to the so-called McMahon Line, he said that it was illegal and had never been recognised by the Chinese Government. He explained at the same time that despite this, in order to ensure the tranquillity of the border and out of consideration for the friendship of the two countries, Chinese military and administrative personnel would strictly refrain from crossing this line and expressed the hope that a proper way to settle the eastern sector of the boundary might be found at a later date. This statement of Premier Chou En-lai can by no means be interpreted as recognition of this line by the Chinese Government.

It can thus be seen that the Chinese Government has been consistent in its attitude that the boundary has not been delimited and is yet to be settled through negotiations between the two countries. The Indian Government's implication that the Chinese Government has changed its original stand does not accord with the facts.

(2) Whether the Chinese Government scrupulously respects the status quo of the border.

It is a principle agreed upon by both sides that pending an overall settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the status quo of the border should be maintained.

The Chinese Government has faithfully abided by this principle. In the ten years since liberation, Chinese military and administrative personnel have been under orders not to go beyond the areas which have always been under Chinese jurisdiction, and even not to cross the so-called McMahon Line in the eastern sector.

The Indian Government's interpretation of the status quo of the border, however, is based not on the actual scope of jurisdiction of the two sides, but on the unilaterally fixed boundary line shown on Indian maps that includes

large areas where Indian jurisdiction has never reached. Thus armed Indian personnel have repeatedly violated the status quo of the border and, step by step, extended the scope of its occupation by encroaching on Parigas, Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Puling-Sumdo, Sangcha and Lapthai, and intruded into Aksai Chin, Lake Pangong, Kongka Pass and Wuje. But the Indian Government describes all these actions as maintenance of the status quo. In the eastern sector, after the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet in March this year, armed Indian personnel even overstepped the so-called McMahon Line, at one time occupied Longju and Tamaden, and is now still in occupation of Khinzemane, all of which are situated north of that Line.

Although the Indian side has occupied Puling-Sumdo, one of the Chinese markets specified in the 1954 Agreement and once occupied Tamaden which India itself admits to be Chinese territory, yet the Indian Government has all along denied having violated the status quo of the border. Moreover, basing itself on the boundary line shown on its own maps, the Indian Government accused China of violating the status quo of the border. To this the Chinese Government cannot agree.

(3) Whether the Chinese Government has earnestly avoided using force.

Recently, two armed clashes which neither side wished to see occurred in the Migyitun area and the Kongka Pass area. This was extremely unfortunate. But it is not China that should be held responsible for them. The Migyitun area incident of August 25 was caused by the action of the armed Indian personnel who had invaded and occupied Longju in advancing further to the southern vicinity of Migyitun and attacking a Chinese patrol. Armed Chinese personnel never attacked the outpost established illegally by India at Longju; on the contrary, it was the armed Indian personnel from the Longju outpost who opened fire on an even larger scale on the following day, but the Chinese troops stationed at Migyitun never returned fire. The allegation that Chinese troops drove armed Indian personnel out of their outpost at Longju by superior force is not true. Armed Chinese personnel entered Longju only on September 1, that is, the sixth day counting from August 27 when the armed Indian personnel withdrew.

The case of the Kongka Pass incident of October 21 is even more obvious. On the day after three armed Indian personnel were detained on their intrusion into Chinese territory more than 60 armed Indian personnel carrying light and heavy machine guns and other weapons intruded further into Chinese territory, and launched an armed attack on a Chinese patrol numbering 14 only and carrying light arms alone. Both before and after the Indian party opened fire, the Chinese patrol gave repeated warnings not to shoot. The Chinese deputy squad leader, Wu Ching-Kuo, waved his hands to the Indian personnel and called on them not to shoot, but this esteemed comrade was the first man to be

hit and killed. Only after this was the Chinese patrol forced to return fire.

That China has consistently refused to use force is further borne out by the following facts:

- (a) When a situation of the armed forces of the two sides facing each other first appeared on the Chinese territory of Wuje in 1955, the Chinese Government took the initiative in proposing that neither side should station troops in Wuje pending a settlement through negotiations.
- (b) With regard to Chinese territories of Parigas, Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Sangcha, Lapthai and Khinzemane, which have been occupied by the Indian side, the Chinese Government has never tried compelling the armed Indian personnel to withdraw by force of arms. Even in regard to such an area as Tamaden, which the Indian Government itself admits to be Chinese territory, the Chinese Government also patiently waited for the Indian troops to withdraw of their own accord and did not resort to force.
- (c) With regard to armed Indian personnel who intruded into the garrison areas of Chinese frontier outposts, the Chinese frontier guard units first of all invariably advised them to leave Chinese territory and it was only when they refused to listen to such advice were they disarmed and afterwards sent out of Chinese territory together with their arms.
- (d) All the Chinese frontier guards are under strict orders absolutely to refrain from using their arms unless they are already subjected to armed attack.
- (e) After the occurrence of the unfortunate Kongka Pass incident, the Chinese Government immediately ordered its troops guarding the Sino-Indian border to stop patrolling the entire border.
- (f) In order completely and effectively to prevent any border clashes, the Chinese Government has recently proposed time and again that the armed personnel of the two sides on the border respectively withdraw 20 kilometers or some other appropriate distance.

The above-mentioned facts prove that the Chinese Government has adopted all possible measures to maintain the tranquillity of the border and to prevent the use of force and the occurrence of armed clashes.

After the Kongka Pass incident, the Indian Government also instructed its frontier guards to stop patrolling and indicated to the Chinese Government that in any event neither side should resort to force except as a last resort in self-defence. This is undoubtedly worthy of welcome. Prior to the occurrence of these two clashes, however, the Indian Government in its note dated August 11 this year had informed the Chinese Government to the effect that Indian frontier

guards had instructions "to resist trespassers and to use minimum force necessary for this purpose if warning given by them remains unheeded."⁷ The Indian Government's note also stated that "if any Chinese troops are still within Indian Territory, they should be immediately withdrawn as otherwise this may lead to avoidable clash." Even after the occurrence of the first clash, the Indian frontier guards, according to the note sent by the Indian Government to China on August 27, 1959, still had instructions to "use force on the trespassers if necessary."⁸ It must be pointed out that since there are divergences both between the two countries' conceptions of the boundary and between their maps, and since the Indian Government regards large tracts of Chinese territory which have always been under Chinese jurisdiction as Indian territory, Chinese military and administrative personnel stationed on the soil of their own country would inevitably be called "trespassers" by the Indian side. In this way, Indian subordinates in carrying out these instructions, could use force more or less freely according to their own judgement. Obviously, it cannot be said that the occurrence of the two unfortunate border incidents was unrelated to such instructions.

(4) Whether China wants to engage in "aggression" and "expansion."

Centering around the Sino-Indian boundary question, there has recently appeared in India a great deal of anti-Chinese pronouncements, which in cold war language slander China as "imperialism," "expanding into India" and "committing aggression." The Chinese people cannot but feel deep regret at such malicious attacks against China, which simply fly in the face of facts.

The Chinese Government has noted that there is at present in India a rather prevalent observation that China has now grown strong and, like certain Chinese rulers in history or modern imperialists, would seek expansion abroad. Apart from those who are obviously hostile to China, the great majority of those who spread this observation probably do so because they lack an accurate understanding of New China. In these circumstances, the Chinese Government deems it useful to explain China's stand once more to the Government and people of India.

Although the Chinese people have begun to score some achievements, China is still very backward economically and culturally and it will still take the Chinese people decades or even over a hundred years of arduous efforts to overcome such backwardness. But at no time in future will China become a threat to its neighbouring countries, just as China does not believe that India, after it has

7. See *White Paper No. I*, p. 41.

8. See *White Paper No. I*, pp. 44-45.

grown strong as China fervently hopes, would become a threat to China. To say that the growth of China's population and industry would constitute a threat to its neighbours is utterly incomprehensible to the Chinese people. China's social system is a socialist one under which political and economic powers are in the hands of the working people and the people and Government of socialist China have not, nor can they have, nor should they have, any intention of threatening others. Moreover, the following facts must be taken note of: Firstly, although China's population has increased at a higher rate since liberation, yet the average annual rate of increase is only two percent, while the average annual rate of increase in China's grain output has reached 9.8 per cent, the highest annual rate of increase being 35 per cent. In the future, the per unit area grain output and agricultural labour productivity in China will still be greatly raised. Apart from that, China has a vast territory, more than half of which is sparsely populated and will take great efforts to develop. Therefore the Chinese people absolutely do not need to seize the territory of other countries to feed themselves. Secondly, although China's industry has undergone some development, it still by far cannot satisfy the needs of the people at home. China is rich in natural resources and has a huge domestic market; its industry neither needs to grab raw materials from abroad nor needs to dump its products in foreign countries. Thirdly, the development of China's industry and agriculture has led to a shortage, not surplus, of labour power in China. Therefore, China has no surplus population to send abroad.

In order to attain their great goals in peaceful construction, the Chinese people are in urgent need of a long-term peaceful international environment. Therefore, in conducting its foreign relations the Chinese Government has consistently pursued a policy of peace and is desirous of living in friendship with all countries, big and small, on the basis of the Five Principles. With regard to the outstanding issues between China and other countries, the Chinese Government has consistently stood for their fair and reasonable settlement by peaceful methods without resorting to force. It is not only impossible, improper and unnecessary for China to commit aggression against its neighbours, rather it is its earnest hope that they would all grow prosperous and strong rapidly. Because only thus can we altogether more effectively prevent imperialist war and aggression and maintain peace in this area; only thus can we better meet each other's needs and help each other in construction work.

So far as the question of boundary is concerned, China absolutely does not want one inch of another country's territory. There are undelimited boundaries between China and many of its neighbouring countries, but China has never taken, and will never take, advantage of this situation to make any changes in the actually existing state of affairs on the borders by unilateral action. Whether

or not the boundary has been delimited, China is always prepared to work in close cooperation with its neighbours for the creation of the most peaceful, secure and friendly border zones so that there will be no mutual misgivings or clashes over the border questions.

With regard to Bhutan and Sikkim, some explanation may be given in passing. China has no other intentions than that of living with them in friendship without committing aggression against each other. Concerning the boundary between China and Bhutan, there is only a certain discrepancy between the delineation on the maps of the two sides in the sector south of the so-called McMahon Line. But it has always been tranquil along the border between the two countries. The boundary between China and Sikkim has long been formally delimited and there is neither any discrepancy between the maps nor any disputes in practice. All allegations that China wants to "encroach on" Bhutan and Sikkim, just like the allegations that China wants to commit aggression against India and other southwestern neighbouring countries, are sheer nonsense.

The basic stand of the Chinese Government towards its neighbours has long been defined time and again and there should have been no need to deal with it at length. It is, however, unfortunate that recently, particularly since the putting down of the rebellion of the reactionary serf-owners in the Tibet region of China, India has in various ways distorted and attacked the Chinese attitude. In the interest of friendship of the two countries, the Chinese Government does not wish to answer attack with attack, but would rather assume that the Indian Government really has some misunderstandings about China's intentions. It may be that, for certain reasons, the campaign against China would still continue. Even if unfortunately that should be the case, the Chinese Government absolutely refuses to think that the misunderstandings about China of those who harbour no ill-will would likewise continue for long. Because, if China were really committing aggression against and posing threat to India or any other country, ten thousand denials would not alter the fact; if it is otherwise, although ten thousand propaganda, machines tell the whole world about China's "aggression" and "threat," they will only discredit the propagandists themselves. "The strength of a horse is known by the distance travelled, and the heart of a man is seen with the passage of time." China's peaceful and friendly attitude toward India will stand the test of time. The Chinese Government is convinced that, though the truth of a matter may be hidden for a while, it is impossible to hide it up for long.

(5) Where lies the key to the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question?

There exist important differences between the Governments of China and India in their stand on the boundary question and there is still tension between

the two countries on the border. But the Chinese Government has never had any doubt that the tension will eventually pass away and a reasonable settlement of the boundary question will be reached through friendly consultations.

The confidence of the Chinese Government is based on the following: There is friendship of thousands of years' duration but no irreconcilable conflict between the two countries; both sides urgently need to devote themselves to long-term peaceful construction at home and are willing to work for the defence of world peace; and it is uncalled-for as well as unthinkable to go on arguing like this without end. On the boundary question, both sides have indicated their willingness to maintain the status quo of the order and to settle the boundary dispute by peaceful means. This shows that a basis exists for China and India to live together in friendship and that the boundary question could be settled in a reasonable way. Besides, looking at it the other way round, there is no alternative. It is impossible for the two sides to change the geographical reality of their being neighbours or to break off all contacts along the lengthy boundary line. It is particularly impossible to entertain the absurd idea that our two great friendly neighbours with a combined population of more than one thousand million might start a war over such temporary and local disputes. Therefore, a friendly settlement of the boundary disputes by peaceful means is the only logical answer.

What are the key questions which demand an urgent solution right now? The Chinese Government has the honour to present the following opinions to the Indian Government:

(a) The Chinese Government is of the opinion that no matter what views the two sides may hold about any specific matter concerning the boundary, there should no longer be any difference of opinion about the most basic fact known to the whole world, that is the entire boundary between the two countries has indeed never been delimited, and is therefore yet to be settled through negotiations. Recognition of this simple fact should not create any difficulties for either side, because it would neither impair the present interests of either side, nor in any way prevent both sides from making their own claims at the boundary negotiations. Once agreement is reached on this point, it could be said that the way has been opened to the settlement of the boundary question. Although up to now each side has persisted in its own views on the concrete disputes concerning the different sectors of the boundary, provided both sides attach importance to the fundamental interest of friendship of the two countries and adopt an unprejudiced attitude and one of mutual understanding and accommodation, it would not be difficult to settle these disputes. If India's opinions prove to be more reasonable and more in the interest of friendship of the two countries, they should be accepted by China; if China's opinions prove

to be more reasonable and more in the interest of friendship of the two countries, they should be accepted by India. It is the hope of the Chinese Government that the forthcoming meeting between the Prime Ministers of the two countries will first of all reach agreement on some principles on the boundary question so as to provide guidance and basis for the future discussion and the working out of a solution by the two sides.

(b) Pending the formal delimitation of the boundary, the status quo of the border between the two countries must be effectively maintained and the tranquility of the border ensured. For this purpose, the Chinese Government proposes that the armed forces of the two sides along the border respectively withdraw 20 kilometers or some other distance considered appropriate by the two sides, and that, as a step preliminary to this basic measure, the armed personnel of both sides stop patrolling along the entire border.

The Chinese Government believes that if agreement can be reached on the two points mentioned above, the situation on the Sino-Indian border will undergo an immediate change and the dark clouds hanging over the relations between the two countries will quickly vanish.

The Chinese Government earnestly hopes that the views it has set forth here at great length on the past, present, and future of the Sino-Indian boundary question would receive the most good-willed understanding of the Indian Government, thereby helping to bring about a settlement of this question satisfactory to both the sides and a turn for the better in the relations between the two countries. Although some arguing cannot be helped in order to make reply to unfair charges, the intention and aim of the Chinese Government is not to argue, but to bring arguing to an end.

China and India are two great countries each with its great past and future. Guided by the great ideal of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence, the two countries have over the past few years joined hands and cooperated closely in defence of world peace. Today, history again issues a call to the peoples of the two countries asking them to make still greater contributions internationally to the cause of peace and human progress, while accomplishing tremendous changes at home. The task falling on the shoulders of the Chinese and Indian peoples of the present generation is both arduous and glorious. The Chinese Government wishes to reiterate here its ardent desire that the two countries stop quarrelling, quickly bring about a reasonable settlement of the boundary question, and on this basis consolidate and develop the great friendship of the two peoples in their common cause.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the Republic of India in China the assurances of its highest consideration.

2. N. V. Gadgil to Nehru⁹

[Refer to item 26]

December 29, 1959

[My dear Prime Minister,]

I am in receipt of your letter from Allahabad dated 25th December, 1959. Immediately on my assumption of office, the facts of Karnal case were brought to my notice and everybody in Punjab then as well as now knows for certain that the three persons were liquidated by the police officers as alleged by the prosecution. At that time it was not proper or desirable for me to do anything and, therefore, I watched the proceedings carefully. I should think that the prosecution was not well-managed. However, I thought that the Presiding Judge would give the accused the benefit of doubt and there the matter would end, but the Judge has found the theory advanced by the defence to be proved and this has given the entire case quite a different aspect. A copy of the judgment was received by my office within a few days of the date of judgment. I ordered that remarks made in the judgment about all the official witnesses and the Chief Minister should be separately compiled and as desired by the Home Minister, I sent one copy of the same to him some time ago. Initially, I was of the view that in view of the strong judgment it would be better if no appeal was filed, but when I read the questions asked in the Lok Sabha in connection with this case, I thought that it would be better for the Government straightaway to file an appeal and I spoke to the Chief Minister accordingly. The matter is being considered by the Government. In one of my interviews with the Home Minister he was good enough to tell me how the Government of India desired the Punjab Government to take up the matter. Your letter confirms the same. I entirely agree with your views about the Chief Minister, and I am doing all I can to help him in making the administration more efficient and more honest. I am happy to state that in the matter of putting down corruption he has been completely carrying out my advice and as things were looking better the judgment of Karnal case came as a bolt from the blue. This has affected the public opinion in Punjab considerably and the judgment has proved a weapon of attack on the Government in the hands of opponents of the Congress. I have been touring in Punjab and everywhere the atmosphere is becoming tense. There is no fear so far as law and order is concerned, but the Congress is no doubt losing ground.

2. As regards the dissidents, I tried my best but they have their deeper prejudices and, probably, that led them to strike a line of action which we are now seeing. I had discussion about these matters with the Chief Minister and at

9. Letter from the Governor of Punjab.

my suggestion he saw some of them but they did not respond at all. The position, therefore, is for you to tackle. I have my own ideas of bringing about improvement in the situation. I shall certainly discuss first with the Chief Minister and then later on I may write to you about the same.

3. Meanwhile, as regards the SGPC elections, things are slightly better than what they were a week ago. If Sardar Partap Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Shri Rarewala put their heart unitedly, I have not the slightest doubt that victory will be theirs. In my own way, consistent with the implications of my office as a constitutional head, I have done as much as I could to bring them together and last week's reports show that things are improving. I think, perhaps, some direction from you to all the three may go a long way off. That is, however, for you to consider. I am distinctly of the view that the situation should be watched till the SGPC elections are over. It will be then time for reviewing the position and I am still of the hope that the present Chief Minister with some change here and there will be able to meet the situation ably and adequately.

4. The Opposition members saw me and complained about the sudden termination of the session last week. I listened to them and told them that they are free to act, but warned them that they should remain within the constitutional limits.

[Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil]

3. V. T. Krishnamachari to Nehru¹⁰

[Refer to item 57]

January 4, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

You talked to us about the progress that is being made in China. The other day an Economist, Solomon Adler, was in Delhi. He has visited China several times and spoke with intimate knowledge of developments there. Like others who have written and spoken on China, he laid special stress on two points. I would like to mention these briefly.

I

The first is the success achieved in China in making millions of men and women work hard. You have often drawn attention to this, Apart from agricultural

10. Letter. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS.

operations, there are the efforts organised on an immense scale, with the labour of millions of men and women, to bring land under irrigation. Adler said—and this is confirmed by other accounts—that over 80 million acres of land have been brought under irrigation in this way in three or four years. There have been a few big projects; but very largely it is a case of utilising all water available to the best advantage, by constructing simple dams and canals, not involving the use of technical skill, with local materials and unskilled and semi-skilled labour. The financial outlays are comparatively small—the workers drawing just enough for their maintenance. Adler thought that the success achieved in these irrigation efforts encouraged the Chinese leaders to set up communes. In the Communes again the emphasis is on the best use of local materials and local labour, without costly techniques—not only in irrigation but also in small industries—blast furnaces, fertiliser units, etc. In these ways China has succeeded in releasing for constructive work the unutilised labour of many millions and in economic terms achieving a capital-output ratio of 1:1 as against our 2 ½ or 3:1. In other words, they get a return of one rupee a year on every rupee of investment. We spend 2 ½ to 3 rupees to get one rupee of return. This indicates the immense gap between China's efforts and ours, due entirely to their success in harnessing the unutilised energy in the countryside for works of benefit to the community as a whole. Taking agriculture alone, China's capital output ratio according to him is 1 to 3—and output of Rs 3 a year for a financial outlay of Re. 1. The striking increases in agricultural production achieved in China are thus ascribable much more to the labour element than to actual financial outlays. If this disparity continues, it is obvious that we shall lose ground steadily in comparison with China.

Leaving aside other aspects of economic life, the enormous increase in agricultural production that has taken place in China is due to two reasons. These are firstly well organised technical units arranging supplies and services. These are government organisations, each unit covering a group of villages. They correspond to the tractor stations in U.S.S.R (now being disbanded and handed over to collectives). Secondly, there are the numerous communists workers living in villages and making people work as a team on carefully devised programmes of improvements. The latest estimates are that there are 14 million communist "cadres", the majority of whom live in villages like the people themselves and assist and organise peoples' efforts. Besides these, there are 25 millions enrolled in women's and youth clubs or cells. A large proportion of these again are in villages. These "cadres" and clubs form the most powerful force in China's life.

In our country we seek to bring about similar results under the community development movement. There are two sides to this. The first is an efficient

organisation—administrative and technical—for ensuring technical advice, supplies and services to every family in the countryside through panchayats and cooperatives. This is not at present as efficient as it ought to be: but, with sustained efforts, the necessary improvements to the organisation can be brought about. The more important question to which immediate attention is needed is—how are we to bring into existence the large numbers of village workers, non-officials with the spirit of social service, who will undertake the task of building up effective leadership in the 500,000 villages of India? What is to be our equivalent of the 10 to 12 million party men and women who live and work in villages in China, not to speak of the 25 millions in Women's and youth clubs?

II

The second point stressed by those who have studied China is the great effort made to maintain a level of prices which would be reasonable from the point of view not only of producers but also of consumers, especially of the industrial workers. A steady level of prices is also desired there in order to stimulate exports. We have not been successful in our efforts to hold the price line. As the U.N. Evaluation Mission on Community Development has recently remarked "since July 1955, grain quotations for India were always above world prices, and sometimes—for instance, at the beginning of February 1959, when a kilogramme of wheat in Bhopal cost 1 rupee well above the world level." I give below prices prevailing in U.S.A., India and Pakistan about the end of December, 1959:

U.S.A.	(in rupees per maund)
Cash or market price	13.02
Support price (or effective support price).	13.13
INDIA	
Punjab	15.40
U.P	16.00 – 17.00
Delhi	15.50
Madhya Pradesh	16.00
Bombay	25.00 - 28.00
PAKISTAN	
Lahore	13.2
Multan	12.0 – 12.4

Wholesale prices have gone up by about 20 per cent since the

commencement of the Plan and cost of living has increased to a similar extent.

On account of these high prices we have had to sanction increases in salaries to Central Government and State and other employees. We are also faced with similar demands from banks and insurance staffs. We have now before us claims for increases of wages in the textile and cement industries and other such claims are bound to be raised in the near future. If inflationary forces are generated on this scale, the plan and its implementation are bound to suffer. There is also the political aspect. Such increases bear more heavily on middle classes with fixed incomes and create discontent among intellectuals. The Planning Commission has submitted proposals for maintaining levels of prices which would be fair to producers and consumers alike. These have been before the Cabinet. They are for procurement in surplus areas, each State being a zone by itself, through licensed traders and from the larger landowners at prices fixed by the Government and for improvement of distribution arrangements especially in the larger cities. It is possible that a solution may be found in other ways but these should be worked out in detail. The building up of reserve stocks for example would be useful. But can this be done early enough to prevent prices rising from March onwards? Here the time factors come in. Further, if reserves, especially of rice, have to be built up for two or three years, what would be the foreign exchange needed and what would be the effect of this on the pattern of the Third Plan? I suggest that a definite scheme bringing out all relevant details should be worked out for holding the price level. The bearing of price levels on the resources for the plan is also explained in the paper on resources circulated for the Cabinet's consideration.

Yours sincerely,
V.T. Krishnamachari

4. Mohanlal Sukhadia to Nehru¹¹

[Refer to items 70 and 71]

Jaipur
January 5, 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

I know how anxious you are about the existing food situation in the country and about the difficulties we have to face from year to year in procuring foodgrains from abroad. I am sure you will agree with me that Rajasthan, and in particular the area likely to be commanded by the Rajasthan Canal, holds the

11. Letter from the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

bright prospects of producing enough foodgrains to meet the prevailing shortages and to make the country self-sufficient.

Recently I have been giving some thought to these matters and have come to the conclusion that perhaps one way to achieve quick results in the Rajasthan area is to establish large-sized State farms. In the course of the next decade or so we are likely to bring nearly 3 million acres of land in this area under irrigation. Of course, we have ambitious schemes to colonise this sparsely populated area, but to my mind, in addition to these schemes, we should work out a programme of establishing State farms, say of 50,000 to 1 lakh acres each, where intensive and modern methods of farming can be fruitfully employed as in the case of the Suratgarh Farm. I feel that in the immediate future our plan should be of establishing at least one such farm every year, so that by the end of the Third Plan we have at least half a dozen farms covering between 4 to 6 lakhs acres of land. I am confident that mechanised farming under State supervision and control on such a vast area is bound to make a considerable improvement in our food supplies. I also feel that each one of such farms will help us as a nucleus of demonstration in our extension work. Also the establishment of such farms will have a great psychological effect on the minds of the farmers who go to settle in that area. I am, therefore, submitting this proposal for your kind consideration, and I earnestly hope that it will receive your approval. For this, of course, we will require special assistance from the Food Ministry.

At the same time, we have to think in terms of setting up necessary plants for the manufacture of agriculture machinery and fertilisers, etc. It will, of course, be advantageous to have such plants established in that area itself or as near there as possible. I think it will be a good thing if the Government of India can agree to allot to Rajasthan a Unit for the manufacture of tractors and agricultural machinery to be located in that area at a very early date. This Unit can hope to receive its steel requirements from our recently set-up steel plants. The machines it will produce will be very much in demand by both the State Farms and the individual farmers. Since the ultimate economic prosperity of the Rajasthan Canal area as also its contribution towards raising the production of foodgrains depends largely upon mechanised farming, we should take early steps to establish such a manufacturing plant, preferably in the public sector.

Another major requirement of the area will be that of fertilisers. You must have by now received the report of the Committee which was set up to examine the question of locating a fertiliser plant at a suitable place in close proximity of the Rajasthan Canal area. I am hoping that the Government of India will soon come to a decision so that necessary steps are taken to locate a fertiliser plant in that area without much delay. I am keen that this plant should be in the

public sector and if possible part of foreign exchange received from Russia may be made available for this.

[Yours sincerely,
Mohanlal Sukhadia]

5 (a). Anonymous letter to Nehru¹²

[Refer to item 91]

January 5, 1960

Sir,

Having come to know certain cases of rampant nepotism, favouritism, jobbery and irregularities in the administration of the Ministry of SR and CA, of which you are the minister for cabinet rank, we are constrained and feel it our imperative duty to bring them to your kind notice, imploring you to take immediate action and ward off recurrence of all such events in future.

1. For the last so many years undesirable officers have been given shelter and now action is proposed to be taken to confirm and even promote them. In the national museum Shri A.K. Bhattachari was taken in by the UPSC in May 1954. He was on six months probation. Due to unsatisfactory and adverse reports he could not be confirmed and was to be reverted. This probation period was never extended. But due to certain vested interests he managed to continue on the said post of Deputy Keeper. Whenever he had represented for his confirmation, it had always been turned down. But now managing with the Assistant Director of the museum, who happens to be a "Bengalee creation", Mr. Bhattachari has got his case recommended by him for confirmation as well as promotion as Keeper. It is likely that the Minister Mr. Humayun Kabir putting aside all sense of fair administration may due to his provincial mindedness and Mr. Bhattachari's being distantly related to Mr. Kabir, help him in the face of Mr. Bhattachari's bad record of service for the last five years and minister's earlier orders turning down his case. We are sure you will kindly take prompt action in the matter and stop all such nefarious activities going on in the said Ministry.

2. Another example of undue favouritism and dragging on incompetent persons with a shady past beyond the age of 55 by the same Minister is the case of Mr. J.K. Roy, working as keeper of CAA Museum. He had been throughout his life a drunkard and a misfit who was kept in his right place for 20 years at

12. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers. File No. 13/1960-61, NMML; copied to Rajendra Prasad, G. B. Pant, Humayun Kabir, Feroze Gandhi and C. D. Deshmukh.

Nalanda as all the previous Director Generals of Archaeology were never satisfied with his work and expressed great dissatisfaction. Being a peg-friend of Mr. A. Ghosh, the present Director General and a long companion in perverse activities of Dr. Puri, the present Assistant Director of the Museum, this pseudo-expert is recommended for extension in service even beyond 56 years of age, whereas he does not put in a single naya paisa of work in the museum and sits tight in his chair puffing his cigars and smoking pipes, throughout the day. He has not a single scholarly contribution to his credit throughout his service career and therefore merely dancing attendance on Dr. Puri should not be the criterion which is an open fact and can be easily verified, for his extension of office. We need not say that this Dr. Puri is the person who has been cheating the government by travelling in lower class, while charging for higher class. We are sending you these two cases for immediate and proper action and more similar cases of the same Ministry as well as other ministries will also follow. Again we have to request you for a prompt, suitable and just action in the matter.

Yours obediently,
Faithful

5 (b). Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹³

[Refer to item 91]

January 8, 1960

My dear Panditji,

Thank you for your letter No. 56-PMH/60 dated 7th January 1960. I will defer my reply to Dr. Roy about the Murshidabad Palace till I have had a chance of discussing the matter with you. Dr. Roy also said that he would be returning to Calcutta only on the 24th of this month so the matter can wait till then.

I read with some amusement the anonymous letter which you have sent me. I am calling for the papers about A.K. Bhattacharya, but it certainly is news to me that he is some connection of my wife. I don't think this is likely but even if he were, it would have made no difference, for he must stand by his record.

The anonymous writer has also cast aspersions on Shri J.K. Roy, Shri A.K. Ghosh and Dr. Puri. Shri Ghosh has rightly earned the reputation of being one of the outstanding archaeologists in the world today. I think you would be pleased if you saw the way in which at every meeting of the Central Advisory, Board of Archaeology, all our historians from universities as well as other organizations

13. Letter. File No. 13/1960-61. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

pay a tribute to his work. Dr. Puri also earned very high praise for the work he did in Germany in connection with the Villa Hugel Exhibition. As far as I know, Shri J.K. Roy has also done very good work. I am normally against giving extensions to people beyond 55, for I want to encourage younger people but in museology, we have so few persons with the minimum qualifications and experience, that we have to keep them beyond 55.

Yours sincerely,
Humayun Kabir

6. Gunada Majumdar to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 65]

Calcutta
January 5, 1960

My dear Sir,

I am grateful to you for your letters of December 7 and 9. I am sorry I did not make myself more clear in my enthusiasm to stress the basic point.

I fully agree with what you say about training, discipline, organised work and rules, I would, however, humbly submit that these have to be viewed in proper perspective and kept in their proper places, the main purpose being to achieve our basic objective. I will try briefly to elucidate.

Community development aims at changing the pattern of life in rural India. In our social context such a change would take the form of a social revolution. Community development, properly executed, would make the revolution peaceful and democratic. The success of our democracy, therefore, largely depends on the success of the community development programme.

Each big programme will have mistakes which are rather welcome to guide us to the right path. But we have to examine if we are using the correct weapon in our fight against poverty and age-long stupor. We cannot achieve a radical social change merely by legal sanctions and formalised organisation.

There is a big gap in our community development programme which leans mainly on administration and its sponsored organisations. We have to fill up this gap, if we want to have an organic growth of the movement. We can do that only when this programme is implemented as a national programme and independent trained social workers also devote themselves to this task under the general guidance of our national leaders. There would be no conflict between the administration and the social workers. In fact they would be complementary

14. Letter. File No. 258. Jayaprakash Narayan Papers, NMML.

to each other.

I am submitting a new programme for community development in India, This is based on my experience and on the Reports of the Govind Sahay Committee of U.P., U.N. Commission, Albert Mayer and Dr W. J. Cousins. This programme may be considered rather unconventional by many, but social change in India cannot be effected by conventional methods. We had learnt from you not to be tied down to conventions when a big thing is done for millions, and I therefore venture to submit this programme for your consideration.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Gunada Majumdar

7. Nath Pai to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 45]

January 13, 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

You are probably aware of the sense of disappointment caused among the Central Govt. employees by the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission. Several national federations of the employees have conveyed to the Govt. their disappointment over the recommendations. During the debate in the House I had pleaded with the Govt. to convene as soon as possible a meeting of the representatives of employees with a view to removing their major grievances. There was no response either to this appeal or to the resolutions passed by the Associations and the Federations. In the mean while the Govt. have imposed additional work loads which exceed even the recommendations of the Pay Commission. The Pay Commission recommended that each alternative Saturday should be a full working day. Govt. have made three Saturdays full working days and this has been given effect to since 1st January. The implementation of this order has caused a profound resentment as is evidenced by the demonstrations held throughout India and the Pen Down strike resorted to by a section of employees.

2. I think even now the Govt. should take the initiative to convene a meeting of the representatives of the employees and the departments principally concerned to thrash out the outstanding differences. The major points that can be taken up are evolving a satisfactory machinery for adjusting increases in living cost index with dearness allowance as is the practice in several prominent

15. Letter.

industries. The First Pay Commission had suggested a useful formula which unfortunately was inconsistently adhered to by the Govt. The approach of the Pay Commission to the question of basic wage runs counter to all principles which both the Govt. and the Tri-partite labour conferences had laid down. The comparison of public holidays in India with those prevailing in the West is unwarranted since the wages, living conditions and other factors operating in those countries are entirely different. Here again, the Pay Commission has been hard on the employees. Its recommendations regarding compulsory provident fund have in several cases resulted in making the monthly pay packets even smaller. The Commission's recommendations regarding the date of effect should have been as from 1.7.59. This amount should be given to the employees in cash as it will bring a considerable relief to them. The Pay Commission's recommendations in regard to pensionary benefits, if employees are really to benefit from them, will have to be given from 1.7.57.

3. The Finance Minister in his statement in the House made no reference to the Commission's recommendations regarding the establishment of full powered Whitley Councils. You know the role these councils play in mitigating the grievances of the employees, in maintaining efficiency. Govt. have remained silent regarding the Commission's recommendation about Arbitration.

4. I have referred to a few points here which are causing so much dissatisfaction among the employees. It will no doubt be said that the recommendations are that of an independent body and the Govt can't intervene. After the publication of the 1st Pay Commission's report the Govt. rejected or modified recommendations as it thought fit. My plea, therefore, that Govt. should modify the new recommendations to meet the legitimate demands of the employees, is both fair and sanctioned by precedent. The fear that acceding to the demands of the employees will add to Govt's financial burdens is unwarranted, by facts. During the Third Five Year Plan period the country will be investing to the tune of 2,000 crores of rupees annually to which the estimated cost of the benefit of recommendations, i.e. Rs. 17 crores annually, can hardly be termed a burden. Here I may add, neither the Pay Commission nor the Finance Ministry have bothered to estimate the value of the additional work which the 17,00,000 employees are supposed to put in. I feel a genuine effort should be made to thrash out acceptable solutions and the matter should not be allowed to drift. I therefore plead with you once again, to take initiative in convening a conference which will be charged with the task of meeting the legitimate demands of the employees where the Pay Commission has given them a raw deal."

[Yours sincerely,
Nath Pai]

8. Kwame Nkrumah to Nehru¹⁶*[Refer to item 126]*

GHANA

13th January, 1960.

PRIME MINISTER

My dear Nehru,

During November of 1957, Lady Jackson (Barbara Ward), the economist, gave a series of five public lectures in the University College of Ghana on a background to world affairs. These were an instantaneous and great success and as a result, I and my colleagues offered the College an annual grant for the institution of an annual series of lectures to be known as the Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures in memory of the three men who laid the foundations for higher education in what was then the Gold Coast. Lady Jackson's lectures constituted the first of the series and they have since been published under the title of "Five Ideas that Change the World."

The Principal of the University College had arranged for Mrs. Pandit to give the second series of lectures during 1958. Unfortunately, owing to ill health, she was unable to deliver these but agreed to do so in March of this year. She has now found it impossible, in view of the approaching Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, to undertake the commitment this year also.

During my recent visit to India, I had the pleasure of meeting His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and his great interest in Afro-Asian affairs impressed me so greatly that I suggested to the Principal of the University College that he should endeavour to persuade him to honour the College by giving a series of lectures within the next few years. He had been on the point of approaching His Highness in this regard when Mrs. Pandit's letter arrived.

16. Letter. File No. VPD-5/60-AFR-II, pp. 2-3, MEA.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I was wondering, therefore, whether you would be so good, in view of the very short notice, to approach His Highness to ascertain whether he might be prepared to give a series of four to five lectures during a period of two to three weeks between the 22nd April (when the University term begins) and the end of May. If he were able to undertake this, we would, of course, leave the proposed title to him, but I would hope that he might be prepared to speak on some subject such as the emergence of Afro-Asia in international affairs.

In the event of His Highness being unable to accept this invitation, may I ask if you would help us out by consulting some other person of academic eminence, such as the Vice-Chancellor of one of your Universities, who would be interested in international affairs and would be able to take on this commitment at such short notice.

Under the terms of our grant, the College offers an honorarium of £1,000, with of course, transportation and hospitality provided, and we are responsible for the subsequent publication of the lectures in book form. I would add that the time of the year proposed is climatically favourable in Ghana and is in strong contrast to that of Northern India.

Yours sincerely
Jawahar Lal Nehru
(JAWAHAR NEHRU)

9 (a). Ellsworth Bunker to Nehru¹⁷

[Refer to item 110]

New Delhi, India
January 20, 1960

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

President Eisenhower has informed me of the reports he has received regarding the satisfactory solution of a number of problems concerning relations between India and Pakistan. He has asked me to convey to you his personal felicitations and congratulations on these developments. Specifically, the President has been happy to learn of the recent resolution of certain boundary difficulties on the Indian-West Pakistan border. He has asked me to say that in his opinion every

17. Letter. File No. 49(5)-AMS/59, MEA.

step of this kind makes more promising the attainment of peace and freedom.
The President has requested me to extend to you his cordial best wishes.
With my kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ellsworth Bunker

9 (b). Ellsworth Bunker to Nehru¹⁸

[Refer to item 110]

New Delhi, India
January 20, 1960

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,
President Eisenhower has referred to the conversation which you and he had the night before his departure in which he undertook, upon his return to Washington, to look into the matter of possible collaboration by the United States Government in the development of atomic energy in India. As a result of the discussions he has held since his return to Washington, he has asked me to say that he is planning to dispatch a technical team to India towards the end of February to evaluate the prospects of nuclear power in greater detail. The exact composition of the team, its proposed arrival time and the questions it would like to discuss will be cabled to us shortly. I shall inform you promptly as soon as these details are received.

I am informing Dr. Bhabha of the prospective arrival of the team and will be glad to let him know further details when I receive these.

I am happy at this prospect of further collaboration between India and the United States in scientific development and hope that it may lead to mutually satisfactory and fruitful results.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ellsworth Bunker

18. Letter. File No. 49(5)-AMS/59, MEA.

10. B. V. Keskar to Nehru¹⁹

[Refer to item 94]

January 20, 1960

My dear Panditji,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant regarding the documentary "The Last Journey." Diwakarji had also talked to me about it in detail.

It would not be correct to say that the Censor Board has objected to it. On enquiry, I find that the Film Advisory Board has taken the objection mentioned by Diwakarji. As you know, after our controversy with the film exhibitors regarding the compulsory exhibition of documentaries and newsreels in theatres on payment, we had come to an agreement with them that only such films will be shown compulsorily, as approved films, as are passed by an independent body called the Film Advisory Board in which representatives of the trade also will be there. On that understanding, the Film Advisory Board has been formed and naturally the Board takes any decision it thinks proper before a film is accepted for compulsory exhibition in the theatres.

However, according to the new rules that we have framed for the Board, any aggrieved body or person can appeal to the Government, against the decision of the Board and I had advised Diwakarji to make an appeal. In this particular case, I agree that the Board's argument appears to be wrong and on getting the appeal, I will see that a decision is taken quickly.

Yours sincerely,
B.V. Keskar

11. S. K. Patil to Nehru²⁰

[Refer to item 72]

January 21, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Dr. Katju's main aim, so far as I can see, is that a rise of Rupee one to two be given on the procurement price of the rice bought by Government in Madhya Pradesh. You will recall that when we considered recently in the Cabinet the re-fixation of the sugarcane prices I had suggested a small increase in the price of rice and wheat also. This was opposed by most of my colleagues and also by Shri V. T. Krishnamachari. My proposal was that the merging of the two zones

19. Letter. File No. 43(146)/60-72-PMS.

20. Letter (extracts). File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS.

will bring the much needed relief to the cultivators in Madhya Pradesh by giving them a slightly higher price. At the same time it will relieve great distress in the neighbouring districts of Bombay where the prices have ruled disproportionately high. It seems very surprising to me that whereas we are talking of holding the price line in Madhya Pradesh no one is worried about the great disparity in the prices in so-called deficit States. I have told Dr. Katju and his colleagues that I am prepared to hold sizable stocks of foodgrains for stabilizing the prices in Madhya Pradesh as also for making these available to adivasis and other poorer sections of the society in case the prices show a tendency to rise unduly.

Dr. Katju has represented to you that if the merger comes about the prices in Madhya Pradesh will soar as much as Re. 5/- per maund and the profits will drop in the pockets of the traders. This is an oft-repeated convenient argument. The facts of the case just at present are that prices of rice outside Madhya Pradesh in adjoining districts like Gondia have considerably fallen. They are round about Rs. 20/- per maund. Making allowance for transportation these prices are not more than Rs. 2/- higher than in Madhya Pradesh. If a merger comes by normal law of supply and demand, prices are likely to further come nearer. This was explained to Dr. Katju and his colleagues and they saw the reasonableness of it.

I am in no haste to bring about the merger of the two zones and really do not understand why Dr. Katju should be so panicky when I have assured him that nothing will be done without the concurrence of the State Government.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Patil

12. K. L. Shrimali to Nehru²¹

[Refer to item 89]

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

Ever since independence, the institution of social and labour service for students has been urged, both as a measure of educational reform and as a means to improve the quality of educated manpower. This question was considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education at its meeting held in Cuttack on the 8th and 9th January, 1950. After examining the various aspects of the matter

21. Draft Report of National Service Committee, (n.d). File No. 30/2/CF/60, Vol. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers, pp. 22-26 & 34-38 (Extracts only).

and in the light of experience of other countries in this field the Board recommended that the students should devote some time to manual work on a voluntary basis only and that teachers should also associate with them in such work. The First Five Year Plan adopted by the Government of India in 1952 stressed the need for compulsory social and labour service for students for a period of about a year. The economic value of such labour was not the chief consideration, as the primary aim of the period of training was to build up the students as workers and disciplined citizens. The vast place which manual work occupied in the life of the nation ought to be, to some extent, reflected in the activities of every citizen. The service could take a variety of forms but it should develop significance in proportion to its relation to the real needs of the community. The association of students with such work would bring them an intellectual and emotional awareness of the various tasks of national reconstruction going on in the country. The doubts regarding the desirability of introducing compulsion in the matter related only to short-term difficulties and did not seriously touch any question of principle. A period of preparation and experimentation was, however, necessary before the service could be put on a compulsory footing, but in the meanwhile, the scheme should be introduced on a voluntary basis with certain inducements. Those going through such a course would naturally be more fitted for positions of responsibility. The First Five Year Plan concluded with saying that the organizers of this scheme should be as far as possible college professors, for whose training adequate provision should be made.

2. Pursuant to the recommendations made in the First Five Year Plan, a number of schemes such as Labour and Social Service Camps, Campus Works Projects, Village Apprenticeship Scheme, etc. were put into operation on a voluntary basis with the object of inculcating a sense of discipline, a spirit of social service and dignity of manual labour among the students and of developing among them an awareness of, an identification with, the problems of the social and economic reconstruction of the country, specially in the rural areas. The response of students to participate in these schemes has been encouraging and those successfully completing their period of training have shown some signs of the desired improvement. The two major drawbacks of these schemes were: firstly, in view of their limited scope, it was not possible to cover a large majority of students; and, secondly, owing to the short duration of the period of service, the work undertaken was mostly of marginal significance. The operation of these schemes has, however, served as a period of experimentation and preparation.

3. The question of introducing compulsion in this field was raised from time to time and was forcefully voiced by the Prime Minister in his letter of the

9th June, 1958 to the Chief Ministers in these words: "I have been thinking that it would be very good for our people to have a period of compulsory service for all young men and young women between certain age limits, say 19 to 22. In most countries of the Western world there is conscription for military service. This is not considered to be an infringement of their liberties or freedom. We do not want any such thing for military purposes, but some kind of compulsory period of training and service for every person appears to me to be very necessary. That period should be one year and for, say, six months in the year everyone should live in camps under some kind of military discipline. This will give them discipline, physical health and capacity for manual work and to work together for productive schemes. The next six months might well depend on the capacity and training of the individual. Another advantage of this will be to bring together everyone at the same level, whether he is rich or poor, and make him do exactly the same type of work, part of which will be manual. "The Prime Minister then went on to say that in view of the enormous cost involved, if the whole of India was brought within the purview of the scheme, it was not necessary to start it in a big way but everyone between certain ages could be made liable, by law, to serve and this could be done in suitable batches. The Prime Minister further endorsed the idea that every graduate, before he gets his degree, should put in a certain period of service in an allotted sphere, depending upon his training and capacity and including work in a village or a tribal area. The Prime Minister directed the Ministry of Education to formulate a suitable scheme for national service, making a beginning with the students between the High School and the college.

4. A draft outline of a scheme for national service was accordingly prepared by the Ministry of Education (see appendix I) and was placed before the Education Ministers' Conference held in New Delhi on the 8th and 9th August, 1959. The Conference was unanimous that there was an urgent need for trying out a workable scheme for national service in view of the fact that education, as it was imparted in schools and colleges today, left something to be desired and it was necessary to supplement it with a programme which would arouse interest in the social and economic reconstruction of the country. It was of the view that if the real objectives of the scheme were to be realised, it was essential to integrate it with the educational process as early as possible. However, the general feeling at the Conference was that the scheme should not be made compulsory at this stage but that it should be tried initially on a voluntary basis. Finally, the Conference recommended that "(i) the question of introducing the scheme on a compulsory basis should be considered after the experience of a pilot project to be operated for a few years; (ii) pilot projects of three months' duration consistent with the objectives of the scheme, and preferably one for

each university, for students volunteering to participate in the programme, may be organized; and (iii) a committee may be appointed to work out the details of the proposed pilot projects.”

5. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Education Ministers' Conference, Education Minister appointed the following Committee on August 28, 1959 to revise the scheme prepared by the Ministry of Education in the light of views expressed by the Conference.

1. Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman, Chairman
University Grants Commission.
2. Dr. D. C. Pavate, Vice-Chancellor,
Karnataka University.
3. Prof. D.G. Karve, Vice-Chancellor,
Poona University.
4. Dr. B. Prasad, Vice-Chancellor,
Patna University.
5. Dr. A.C. Joshi, Vice-Chancellor,
Punjab University,
6. Shri H. C. Sarin, Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Defence.
7. Shri K. Balachandran, Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation,
8. Shri P.N. Kirpal, Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Education.
9. Dr. N.S. Junankar, Deputy Educational
Adviser, Ministry of Education — Secretary

The Committee held three meetings—First on the 3rd October, 1959, second on the 22nd October, 1959 and third on the 15th December, 1959. Professor D.G. Karve was unable to attend any meeting. The Committee considered the various aspects of the scheme for national service and after laying down the guiding principles, made various recommendations for working out a suitable programme. These are given in the following sections.

SECTION II

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The appointment of the Committee by the Ministry of Education and the inclusion of many educationists indicate that the scheme of National Service to be worked out by the Committee was primarily intended to be educational in nature, scope and functions. The scheme should therefore be visualized as a measure of educational reform directed towards remedying the observed

deficiencies in our educational system. As has been discerned by educationists, the present system is not fully attuned to the needs and aspirations of the independent contemporary India and has not been successful in developing the kind of attitudes which are required for the task of national reconstruction. By and large, students fail to cultivate a positive sense of discipline; also they are usually averse to manual labour; moreover, they seem to lack a spirit of social service or a sense of social purpose and the idealism and enthusiasm which are usually associated with youth and which are of vital importance for a developing country like India have been singularly lacking. Apart from these deficiencies which are more of a social character, the present system does not stimulate that curiosity and love of scholarship which is the most valuable asset of an educated individual.

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1. Objectives: The primary objective of national service should be to provide a livelier awareness on the part of the educated youth of the purposes and processes of the nation's reconstruction efforts, especially in the rural areas, and to inculcate in them a sense of discipline, a spirit of social service, dignity of manual labour and dedication to the cause of the country in order to make up the deficiencies of the present educational system such as lack of discipline, absence of self-reliance, want of maturity and loss of idealism, and thus prepare the educated youth, the future leaders of the country, for the enormous tasks of national reconstruction requiring arduous, sustained and responsible work and to safeguard national security requiring a reserve of trained personnel available to meet any emergency.

2. Compulsion: It is necessary that any scheme of national service must be compulsory if it is to be effective and is to make a real impact to improve the quality of manpower needed by the country. A voluntary scheme would have the drawback of leaving out a good many, if not the majority, of students proposed to be covered and would not be assured of success unless sufficient inducements were offered. If improvement on the national scale is to be the aim, which it ought to be, then no voluntary scheme can ever hope to achieve it. There can be no objection on principle or otherwise, to compulsion as it is the right of the State to ask its citizens for a period of service in return for what it does for them.

No exemptions are to be allowed on any ground. The students who are not physically fit for manual work could be asked to do other suitable work. Cases of hospitalization are in another category and may be exempted only for the period of hospitalization. In particular, there should be absolutely no opportunity

for the rich and influential to manipulate exemptions for their children.

3. Durations: It is essential that national service should be of a sufficiently long duration to inculcate in the young adolescent the values of discipline, social service, dignity of manual labour and dedication to the country. It is necessary to expose young minds to good influences over an adequate period if lasting effect is to be secured on the growing personalities and developing character of the nation's youth. A period of at least nine months to a year is the minimum required for achieving the objectives of national service.

4. Stage: The best stage for drafting the youth in national service is when they pass out of Higher Secondary School or Pre-University class and are prepared to enter life or the University. A year's national service at that stage would greatly fill the gap left by the present secondary education and would equip a young person better both for life or the University. Those entering life would be more mature, more disciplined and better prepared for the responsibilities of their work. Those who go to the university would be more self-reliant, more disciplined and better equipped for benefiting from university education. As a matter of fact, the observation of a young person in national service spread over a year would enable the educational authorities to select better material for university education on the basis of academic and other achievements, and thus check the growing indiscipline and prevent wastage which are becoming the bane of university education. Those students who are found to be talented and gifted during the operation of the national service should be given scholarships and other benefits to pursue higher education. The national service thus has tremendous possibilities of being utilized as a means of regulating admissions to universities on the basis of adjudged capacity of students to benefit from higher education.

5. Content: The content should be so devised as to effect an all-round improvement of the personality and character of the adolescent. There need be no dead uniformity—none is advocated—but the following ingredients should be dovetailed in any overall programme for the service:-

(i) Military Discipline: The students should lead a disciplined life for nine months to one year comparable to that in the armed forces. No breach of discipline should be tolerated. Adequate sanctions should be provided to deter any breach of discipline.

(ii) Social Service and Manual Labour: Social service and manual labour should be rendered for at least four hours every day in the areas selected for work under the national service. Manual labour would be essential part of the work for every student. The labour and social service may take diverse forms depending upon the local and the needs of the community. The work should be so organized that the community derives tangible and lasting

benefit. This will inspire confidence in youth and also give them pride of achievement.

(iii) General Education: So that the national service should not lead to a gap in the education of adolescents, it should also provide broad general education laying stress on the improvement of English, learning of Hindi and other regional languages, improvement of general knowledge, acquaintance with India's cultural heritage and programmes of social and economic planning, etc. so that the participants on completing the national service are fit and active enough to take their place in life even if they do not enter the university. The period of national service should also be fully utilized for the emotional integration of the youth with the country and ideals it is working for. The service should also provide some opportunities for self-expression in cultural activities like music, dance, drama, but care should be taken to ensure that they do not distract from the main purposes of the service. Adequate reading materials such as books, periodicals, magazines etc, should be provided so that the youth can acquire habits of self-study, critical inquiry and love for scholarship and knowledge.

A programme worked out suitably with the above ingredients should meet the needs of all-round development of the growing adult and lead to integration of his personality. This would not only develop true discipline—physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual—but also inculcate in the youth qualities like the love of the country and dedication to social work.

6. Organizational Set-up: A programme of national service of the envisaged quality and magnitude should be a bridge between the terminal stage of secondary education and entry into life or institutions of higher education. Though it will draw upon the resources of the Defence Forces, Universities, and Educationists, Government departments both at the Centre and in the States engaged in social and economic developments programmes, the programme suggested by the Committee would require for its implementation an organizational set-up which should be broad-based and independent. The programme must be truly national in concept and in execution and should be so devised that it develops the capacity to extend its scope to cover other categories of citizens in appropriate age groups in course of time. While it is urgent that we concentrate our efforts on the educated youth, the other youth of the country are of no less importance for the larger interests of the country. In view of the potentialities of a comprehensive programme visualized, such a service might ultimately cover all the youth of the country, but this will require as a pre-requisite the spread of secondary education to all young persons below the age of 17.

It is, therefore, suggested that a National Board should be set up to plan,

implement and evaluate a programme of national service. This should, however, be preceded by careful preparation of a detailed plan of work for youth and for this purpose, it would be desirable to set up a representative working group of Educationists, Administrators, Defence Experts and other interests.

7. Finance: An investment in human resources is not to be viewed in the context of economic value of the product of such investment, as the primary aim is to build up educated young people as disciplined citizens and devoted workers so that they are an asset to the nation. The national service is thus to be viewed as a nation building programme and any cost incurred on it would more than repay itself in the long run. The economic value of the productive work which the youth are expected to perform would not be in itself inconsiderable and should be reckoned in any estimate of the cost involved. The cost of national service, though heavy, should not be beyond our means and should be worked out in detail by the Working Group.

13. V. K. Krishna Menon to Nehru²²

[Refer to item 113]

Subject:- Alleged violation of Chinese Territorial Water by INS MAGAR

I have examined the latest memorandum submitted by the Government of the People's Republic of China regarding the alleged violation of Chinese Territorial Water by INS MAGAR in September 1959. With regard to the points made by the Chinese Government, the following are the facts.

2 On her way into Hong Kong, the MAGAR took the route from the direction of the South-West which, it is understood, is taken by other ships. The Chinese Government has protested about this (Please see our Embassy's telegram No. 171 of 7.9.59 and No. 19 of 23.1.60). On her way out of Hong Kong, INS MAGAR took the route south-east of Hong Kong and east of Tankan Islands as suggested by the Chinese Government themselves in the aforesaid protests.

3. The track actually taken by the ship on the 16th September 1959 has been obtained from the relevant log book and navigational data of INS MAGAR and is plotted and shown in red on the tracing which is attached.

4. It may be mentioned that as far as we know, the route taken by INS MAGAR was an internationally accepted one and there has never been any objection to merchant ships of all nations using this channel. In fact, war ships

22. Note, 1 April 1960. File No. 15(33)-EA/59, p. 32. MEA.

of the British and, we believe, the American Navies, have also been using this route. It was suggested informally to the Commanding Officer of INS MAGAR by the British Naval authorities in Hong Kong.

5. It is alleged by the Chinese Government that on the 16th September 1959 at 1510 hours, INS MAGAR cut as deep as 5.5 nautical miles into Chinese territorial waters. The point at which INS MAGAR is alleged to have been, as stated by the Chinese Government, has also been marked on the tracing which is attached. Taking that point as the centre, a circle has been drawn round that point with a 12 mile radius. It will be seen that at no point does the circumference touch any part of Chinese territory. The position of INS MAGAR, however, was not that as stated by the Chinese Government, but was about half a mile outside that position.

6. The Commanding Officer of INS MAGAR, in all consciousness, took the only international route out of Hong Kong, namely, to the south-east, that we know; nor did he, nor intend to, violate the Chinese territorial waters.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of persons and places)

AICC	All Indian Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
Alleppey	Alappuzha
Bangalore	Bengaluru
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Bombay city	Mumbai
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CD	Community Development
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
Chou En-lai	Zhou En-lai
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party/Congress Party in Parliament
crore	ten million
CS	Cabinet Secretary
CWC	Congress Working Committee
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FB	Forward Bloc
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOC-in-C	General Officer Commanding-in-Chief
GOI	Government of India
gram sevak	a person appointed for village welfare work
HAL	Hindustan Aeronautics Limited
jigyasa	curiosity, desire to know; inquisitiveness
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
JNMF	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

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lakh	one hundred thousand
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Madras (city)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
Mysore (State)	Karnataka
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
panch	one of the elected representatives of panchayat
Peking	Beijing
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PS	Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
RBCC	Regional Bombay Congress Committee
Samsad	court of Visva-Bharati University
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee
SP	Socialist Party
SR&CA	Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
SWJN (FS)	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> (First Series)
SWJN (SS)	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> (Second Series)
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA	United States of America

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
WH&S	Works, Housing and Supply Ministry
White Paper I	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Government of India and China, 1954-1959</i> [New Delhi, 1959]
White Paper II	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, September-November 1959 and A note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India</i> [New Delhi, 1959]
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